

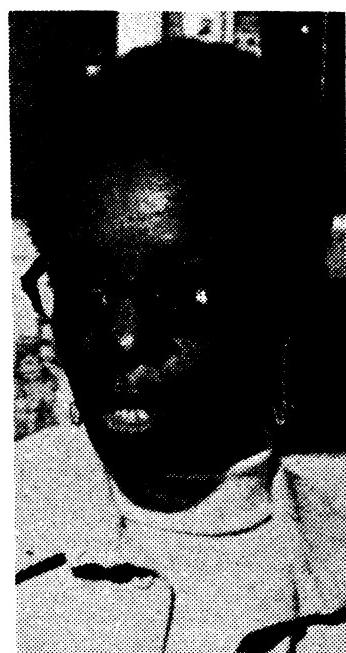
THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

FBI ORDERED TO HALT SPYING ON SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY



PETER CAMEJO



WILLIE MAE REID

Camejo and Reid demand:
-HAND OVER THE 8 MILLION FILES!
-PULL ALL INFORMERS OUT NOW!

By Larry Seigle

SEPTEMBER 15—In a move totally without historical precedent, the attorney general of the United States has ordered the FBI to end its "investigation" of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Peter Camejo, the presidential candidate of the SWP, greeted the decision as a "victory for the democratic rights of all Americans."

Camejo, appearing today with his vice-presidential running-mate, Willie Mae Reid, at a news conference in Washington, said the SWP and YSA would move "full-speed ahead" with their campaign against government spying and harassment.

He said the ruling by Attorney General Edward Levi would now "accelerate the pace, scope, and impact" of the suit against the FBI and other federal police agencies, which is being heard in federal district court in Manhattan.

The presidential candidate told reporters at the news conference that the socialists are seeking:

- "a permanent injunction to outlaw all of the techniques of spying and disruption used against us by the FBI and other political police agencies." Such an injunction would mean that no attorney general could reverse this decision on the SWP without going to court to lift the injunction;

Continued on page 4

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 6 Socialists' suit exposes roots of Watergate
- 8 SWP slate wins spot on California ballot
- 9 SWP files challenge to Ford-Carter debate
- 13 Uneasy peace reigns in Boston
- 14 Détente & the death of Mao Tsetung
- 15 Carter & Ford join anti-abortion drive
- 16 Abel ducks issues in steel, pushes Carter
- 17 Vote for Carter will not bring jobs
- 18 Raleigh marchers demand: 'Free N.C. prisoners!'
- 23 Gus Hall, détente & '76 election
- 24 Puerto Rican struggle in the U.S.
- 25 Who's joining the SWP?
- 27 Cantú convicted of shielding 'aliens'
- 32 South Africa regime steps up repression
- 2 In Brief
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 11 National Picket Line *¡La Raza en Acción!*
- 12 The Great Society Women in Revolt By Any Means Necessary
- 26 In Review

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 19 Lebanon after fall of Tel Zaatar
- 20 Ernest Mandel on workers democracy
- 22 Behind Irish republic's state of emergency

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Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Managing Editor: LARRY SEIGLE
Business Manager: ROSE OGDEN
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING
Washington Bureau: NANCY COLE

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in editorials.

In Brief

J.B. JOHNSON GETS LIFE: J.B. Johnson, a St. Louis Black man, was sentenced to life in prison September 10. He was convicted on trumped-up charges of murder in the death of a white cop during a robbery.

Judge William Corrigan denied probation because Johnson still maintains his innocence.

Attorneys for Johnson gave the judge a list of forty-five individuals supporting probation. The list included representatives of the Missouri NAACP, Missouri Black Caucus, and Coalition of Black Social Workers.

Johnson plans to appeal.

Camejo on network TV

Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate, will appear on the Public Broadcasting Service television network on September 23, the evening of the first of the "Great Debates" between the Democratic and Republican presidential nominees.

Camejo will be interviewed on "Black Perspective on the News," seen at 7:00 p.m. in many cities. In some areas the program is aired at a later date. Check local listings for time and station.

H. RAP BROWN PAROLE: Former Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee chairperson H. Rap Brown has requested a review of his parole eligibility. In 1971 Brown was sentenced to five to fifteen years for participating in the stickup of a West Side Manhattan night club.

Brown has already served the minimum sentence. Lennox Hinds, his attorney, contends that Brown's positive contributions to the 1960s civil rights movement weigh for parole.

PRO-ABORTION RALLY IN SAN JOSE: A rally supporting abortion rights will be held September 19 in San Jose. Demonstrators will protest the "California Pro-Life Conference" scheduled for the same weekend. The Coalition for Freedom of Choice is sponsoring the abortion rights rally.

Many organizations are mobilizing their members for the rally, including the San Jose Women's Center, Planned Parenthood, Welfare Recipients League, San Jose State University Women's Studies Program, and Sunnyvale and San Jose chapters of the National Organization for Women.

Other groups participating are the Coalition of Labor Union Women, Socialist Workers party, Lesbian Feminist Alliance, and Santa Clara County YWCA.

The rally is scheduled for twelve noon to 4:00 p.m. at the St. James Park in downtown San Jose.

PERSONPOWER, NOT MANPOWER: San Antonio's Manpower programs are just what the name implies: male-oriented and discriminatory toward women. This is the bottom line of a one-year study of this federally funded job training and placement project. While women represent 47 percent of the city's unemployed, only 25 percent of the participants in Manpower programs are women.

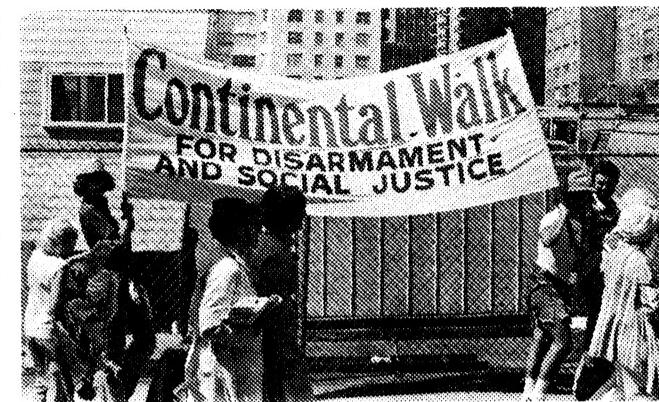
This discrimination is angering women, especially Chicanas, who are hardest hit by unemployment. Last month the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund filed a class-action sex discrimination complaint with the U.S. Department of Labor. Complainants are the Mexican American Business and Professional Women's Club, the San Antonio chapter of the National Organization for Women, Sylvia Hernández and Helena Limón. Hernández and Limón both applied to the program, but never received any response. Manpower often does not even inform women of its services. It also doesn't recognize women as heads of households, one possible rationale for preferential treatment for men.

The suit could result in a cut-off of funds until San Antonio programs comply with nondiscriminatory guidelines.

RESISTING CUTBACKS: Most Puerto Ricans in New York City drop out of high school before they reach the tenth grade. Project Adelante, a bilingual, bicultural program was started three years ago to help students make it through public school and into college. On September 1, the United States Office of Education (USOE) and Upward Bound terminated the program.

On September 10, seventy-five people picketed Federal Plaza in Manhattan and then sat in at the USOE office. Officials were forced to grant a hearing on the closing. Seventy people picketed again September 13 outside the hearing. All that the USOE has agreed to do is check into last year's budget. If there are any leftovers, they might use them to keep the program afloat.

On the march



Militant/Baxter Smith

NEW YORK—Two hundred people turned out September 11 in a New York feeder march to the 'Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice.' The walk, which began in San Francisco last January, is slated to reach Washington, D.C., for an October 16 rally. Among its sponsors are the American Friends Service Committee, Catholic Peace Fellowship, War Resisters League, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Gray Panthers.

JOURNALISTS DEFEND SCHORR: Thirteen prominent reporters and broadcasters spoke out in defense of reporter Daniel Schorr at a Capitol Hill news conference September 14. The House Ethics Committee is persecuting Schorr because he made available to the American people a House Intelligence Committee report on CIA crimes.

Newspaper Guild President Charles Perlik announced that more than 5,500 signatures have been collected demanding a halt to the committee's witch-hunt. Speaking in defense of Schorr and freedom of the press were Dan Rather, CBS News; Carl Bernstein, *Washington Post*; Seymour Hersh, *New York Times*; Mary McGrory, *Washington Star*; and California Sen. Alan Cranston.

"The overwhelming sentiment in the journalistic community is clearly against this investigation," said Randy Furst, a *Minneapolis Star* reporter who chaired the news conference.

—José G. Pérez



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Goal is 20,000 new readers

Socialists sign up 'Militant' subscribers

By Harvey McArthur

What do you do when you're new in town and want to meet people? Take the *Militant* around and sell subscriptions, of course!

Louisville, Kentucky, is a city where there has never been a branch of the Socialist Workers party—until this summer. Louisville socialists are finding that the subscription drive is the best way to meet people and win new supporters and members.

During the past week and a half, the thirteen members of the Louisville SWP have sold more than fifty subscriptions. Thirty of them went to residents of the Cotter-Lang housing project, a large Black project in West-side Louisville.

According to John Goebels, the subscription director, the socialists had already sold hundreds of single copies of the *Militant* in the project during the summer. Residents were eager to buy subscriptions when they found out about the special introductory offer.

"We went out again and again," said Goebels. "The first time we didn't sell too many. But by the second time, sales went way up."

"Now we are also going to the Village West project. The first time out we sold eighteen subscriptions and seventy-five single copies. We expect to get a lot more subscribers there soon."

Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate, will be campaigning in Louisville this week, giving a special focus to the subscription drive. A reception for Reid will be held in the Cotter-Lang project. New subscribers are being invited to attend.

Many new *Militant* readers have become interested in finding out more about the Socialist Workers party. One



Militant/Lou Howort

The 'Militant' not only makes good reading. It can also come in handy when you need a picket sign at a demonstration. Subscribe today.

has already joined the Louisville branch.

The subscription drive is also stirring up a lot of enthusiasm in New York's Lower East Side, a Puerto Rican and Chinese community.

So much so, in fact, that talking to Nelson González—subscription coordinator for the Lower East Side SWP—was no easy task. People kept interrupting him to hand in more subscriptions.

Socialists in that community have already sold seventy-five subscriptions.

"We're calling up our friends and people that we know," said González. "We get them committed right on the spot to buy a subscription."

"We've also been going through the big housing projects here, and setting up tables on the avenues."

"But we don't just wait for people to come up to our tables and talk to us," he said. "We walk up and down the avenues, meeting people and showing them the *Militant*."

González told me that a lot of people on the Lower East Side have been involved in struggles for community control of their schools. They've also organized protests against the cutbacks in New York.

"So, when we show them that the *Militant* supports these struggles and reports on them," he said, "it's very easy to sell subscriptions."

* * *

The September 11 weekend marked the official opening of the subscription drive. Next week, the *Militant* will report the results of the weekend sales blitzes organized by SWP branches around the country. We will also begin printing a weekly scoreboard charting the progress of the drive.

SWP asks probe of FBI links

Nazi held in 1975 bombing of socialists

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Police reported September 9 they had arrested a suspect in the February 4, 1975, bombing of the Socialist Workers party.

A huge arsenal of weapons and ammunition was found in the man's home, along with Nazi insignia and a flag. He was booked on suspicion of illegal possession of machine guns. Police said they believe he is a former member of the American Nazi party.

The Socialist Workers demanded a full-scale investigation, charging a possible link in the bombing between the FBI and the Nazis.

In the Hollywood home of the suspect, Serge Masche, twenty-three, police said they found six machine guns, four high-explosive artillery shells, and thirty-six other weapons, including nineteen handguns.

There were 500,000 rounds of ammunition in the house.

Masche reportedly said he is a "gun collector."

A demand for a probe of possible FBI links with the suspect was made at a September 14 news conference by Omari Musa, the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate.

Police said they regard Masche as a suspect in the bombing of twenty months ago because he fits the description of the person seen fleeing the scene of the explosion.

The bombing occurred at a headquarters of the SWP located at 710 Westlake Avenue.

Lew Jones, then SWP organizer in Los Angeles, came out of the headquarters door just as a man was preparing to hurl a pipe bomb up the stairs toward the second-floor offices.

The man threw the bomb and ran. Jones shouted a warning and pursued the bomber unsuccessfully. Several dozen people in the offices were quickly evacuated before the blast rocked the building.

The next day a local news service received an anonymous call in which the National Socialist [Nazi] Liberation Front took credit for the bombing.

"We don't want to harass the socialists, we want to exterminate them," the caller said.

Although they had a detailed description of the bomber, plus the lead provided by the call, police said they were unable to solve the case.

Two months later the *Los Angeles Free Press*, an alternative weekly, published an interview with Joseph Tommasi, a leader of the Nazi Liberation Front, a split-off from the American Nazi party. In the interview Tommasi openly boasted that his outfit was responsible for the bombing.

"We know the cops aren't interested if we bomb the left," Tommasi observed.

Later Tommasi was gunned down by a member of a rival Nazi faction. His killer received a ten-month sentence after pleading guilty to second-degree murder. He was also given credit for 228 days already served at the time of

sentencing. Many observers asked if anyone without government connections could get off so lightly.

Noting police reluctance to act decisively against the Nazi groups, Musa told reporters, "We said then and we repeat now, we believe there is a strong possibility of FBI complicity in the Nazi bombing of our office."

"We have demanded," Musa continued, "the immediate release of all FBI files relating to the SWP, the Nazis, and the 1975 bombing."

Explaining the need to probe FBI complicity, Musa pointed to recent revelations in Denver.

There it was established that Timothy Redfearn, an FBI informer in the Socialist Workers party, had burglarized the party's headquarters on the agency's behalf. After Redfearn's arrest on another burglary charge, Nazi flags were found in his home.

Nor is this the first case of government relations with right-wing terrorist gangs in their drive against those they view as "un-American."

In San Diego the FBI provided the weapons and ammunition for the ultraright Secret Army Organization in its unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Peter Bohmer, an antiwar professor.

And in Chicago a grand jury found that both local police and an army intelligence unit had actively cooperated with the fascistlike Legion of Justice in violent attacks on the SWP.

Earlier in Los Angeles the SWP was

the target of gun and bomb attacks by anti-Castro Cuban exiles. Numerous ties have been established between such thugs and the CIA.

Masche, the present suspect of the SWP bombing, is employed by Universal Studios as a mail clerk.

It would take a good deal more than a mail clerk's salary to accumulate the arsenal cops found in his home. Clearly a full investigation of all his possible ties—with the Nazis and with the FBI or other government agencies—is urgently needed.



Militant/Harry Ring
Lew Jones, who witnessed 1975 bomb assault, inspecting damage at Los Angeles socialist headquarters.

...FBI ordered to halt spying on socialists

Continued from page 1

- "the immediate transfer to our hands of all files the government has on the SWP"; and
- "\$40 million in damages."

"The Levi decision is the biggest opening yet for all those determined to bring a halt to the government's program of political spying and harassment," Camejo said. "This decision paves the way for the American people to learn the truth about the FBI's forty-year war against the SWP. It removes the last barrier to the release of the files the FBI has maintained on its investigation."

Camejo and Reid announced at the news conference that they are demanding the immediate withdrawal of the FBI's informers from the SWP and YSA, and from Socialist Workers campaign committees.

"The Levi ruling clearly makes illegal the continuing use of any informers against the Socialist Workers party," Camejo said.

If the FBI does not comply with this demand, Camejo announced, the party's attorneys will move immediately in federal court for a preliminary injunction ordering the removal of the government spies.

"This is an outrageous situation," said Camejo. "Here we are less than two months from the presidential elections, and the government is operating a ring of informers and dirty-trick artists inside the campaign committees of one of the candidates. This must be stopped and stopped right now!"

In August, the SWP released documents it had obtained from its suit showing that the FBI states it has sixty-six informers posing as members of the SWP and the YSA. In addition, some 1,300 free-floating informers, who do not pose as members, have provided data on the socialists as well as on other political parties, Black and women's groups, and trade unions since 1960.

Willie Mae Reid told the news conference that the government's decision "has special significance for the Black movement." (See box on facing page.)

YSA National Chairperson Nan Bailey also addressed the news conference. Bailey said that Levi's decision "will spur the YSA and other student organizations to demand the opening of all FBI and CIA files on the student movement and an immediate halt to political harassment."

She called for "an escalated campaign to expose university administration complicity with FBI, CIA, and police departments' illegal campus spying."

Camejo termed the Justice Department directive a "vindication of the right of the SWP to engage in political activity free from government interference."

"It is a vindication of the rights of all Americans to engage in political activity whatever their views and ideas may be."

"It is a vindication of the struggle by the Socialist Workers party and other organizations against the government's use of informers, burglaries, bugging, wiretapping, kidnapping, physical assaults, and even assassinations."

The Justice Department decision was disclosed in a September 13 letter from Robert Fiske, the United States attorney in New York, to District Court Judge Thomas Griesa. Griesa is presiding over the socialists' lawsuit.

"We would like to advise Your Honor and plaintiffs' counsel that the Attorney General has now concluded that the investigation of the plaintiff organizations should be terminated," the letter said. "Instructions to FBI field offices implementing the Attorney General's decision will be issued very shortly."

The *New York Times* reported today that the Levi order, issued last Friday,



Syd Stapleton and Peter Camejo at September 15 news conference

Militant/Nancy Cole

"appeared to overrule an internal decision" of the FBI last month that it would continue its investigation of the SWP and YSA.

Justice Department officials are doggedly insisting that the decision had nothing to do with the socialists' lawsuit. They claim it was merely the result of the process of administrative review set in motion when the attorney general adopted new guidelines covering so-called domestic security investigations. The "guidelines," adopted last March, say the FBI can carry out a "domestic security" investigation only if there is evidence of actual or potential criminal activities.

"The lame pretense that this is not a direct political response to our suit and the widespread public support this case has mobilized is transparently absurd," said Syd Stapleton. Stapleton is the national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which was established to organize support and raise money to cover the costs of the omnibus lawsuit.

"It's quite a coincidence that of all the groups targeted by the FBI, the SWP is the first one Levi reviewed," Stapleton continued. "What did they do, go through the cases alphabetically, beginning with 'S'?"

Informers 'Out Now!'

Stapleton told reporters that the party's lawyers would insist on immediate action by the FBI to withdraw all informers and turn over the complete files on its informer operation.

"Levi's ruling removes the last shred of legal justification for the use of informers. It also completely demolishes the government's labored claims that they don't have to give us the complete, uncensored files on these rats because they are protected by the spurious doctrine of 'informer privilege.'

"These informers and their activities are now stripped of all legal protection against full disclosure, against civil suits, and against criminal prosecutions," Stapleton added.

Some Justice Department officials in Washington, according to reporters, are worried that the simultaneous departure of the sixty-six FBI stool pigeons would identify them. They would like to spread out the time period over which the informers drop from the party.

"This plan for 'phased withdrawal' is as phony as it was when the U.S. proposed it in Vietnam," said Stapleton. "We say 'Out Now!'"

Eight million files

The Levi decision opens the door to a whole range of initiatives by the SWP and YSA in their case. First and foremost on the list is the fight that will ensue over the FBI's admission that it has eight million pages of files on the socialists.

"Levi's order to the FBI means that the maintenance of those files is now outside the law," Stapleton told the *Militant*. "Those files have been compiled under cover of an 'investigation'

that the government now concedes has no legal justification.

"The files themselves constitute an illegal arsenal against the SWP and YSA so long as they remain in the hands of the FBI. Their retention by the bureau also amounts to a continuing cover-up of their forty-year conspiracy to disrupt and destroy the SWP. The Justice Department ruling, if implemented, removes the last barrier to our obtaining those files."

"You must remember that the censored files we have already forced out of the FBI archives are only a minute portion—and, we can assume, the least damaging to the government—of what exists. Now we are going to insist that we get immediate possession of all the rest. And without one word deleted!"

"If the FBI doesn't go along, then we can only assume that the FBI's investigation isn't really over. Why else would they retain the files?"

Stapleton added that the party would fight any move to destroy the files. "The SWP and the YSA, and every single one of our supporters and former members, have a right to know what is in those files. The American people have a basic right to know. What's more, the files are important evidence in our suit."

The socialists are also demanding from the government the full text of the orders to the FBI's field offices ending the "investigations" of the SWP and YSA reportedly sent out by FBI Director Clarence Kelley.

Letter to gov't: open files, pull spies

[Leonard Boudin, the distinguished constitutional lawyer who is heading the legal team working on the SWP and YSA suit, made an immediate response to the Justice Department decision in a letter to Federal District Court Judge Thomas Griesa. The following are excerpts from that letter.]

We welcome the Attorney General's decision, regard it as an appropriate vindication of the plaintiffs' position of the illegality of a forty-year vendetta against our clients, and believe it calls for the accelerated discovery referred to below and a consent decree. . . .

We therefore request the following:

1. A copy of the proposed instructions to FBI field offices implementing the Attorney General's decision. . . .

2. Immediate instructions to all present informants to discontinue at once any and all association with the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance and their members.

3. A consent decree (a) enjoining the FBI, the CIA, and the NSA in particular, and the other defendant government agencies, from engaging in surveillance, wiretapping, disruption and the other activities set forth in the complaint. . . . (b) directing the turn-over to the plaintiff organizations of all files. . . . (c) directing the disclosure of the names of all informants, past and present; and (d) directing all informants to cease their activities. . . .

In our view the Attorney General's decision that the "investigation of the plaintiff organizations should be terminated" is not only an admission as to the illegality of the forty-year old surveillance and

disruption of the plaintiff organizations, but removes any claim that the disclosure of the identity of the informants should be protected by the so-called "informer privilege" which is predicated upon bona fide law enforcement. . . .

There is no excuse for any further delay in the production of documents, since deletions are no longer necessary to protect an ongoing investigation. . . .

In view of the pending election campaign, in which the SWP and YSA are participants, we will request a preliminary injunction ordering the immediate removal of all informants. . . . should the government fail to do so voluntarily. As members [these informers] vote on matters of policy concerning election strategy—an interference in the political life of the SWP, which even the government now admits is unwarranted.

Reid: 'Victory for Blacks'



[The following are excerpts from the statement by Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate, at the September 15 news conference in Washington.]

Attorney General Levi's decision has special significance for the Black movement. Documents from the FBI's own files, including the notorious Cointelpro papers, have amply proven that organizations and individuals struggling for Black rights have been special targets of FBI disruption tactics.

Bureau tactics used against the Black movement have included the use of informers to sow discord and try to provoke violence within the movement. There is also a growing body of evidence pointing to FBI complicity in the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X.

We hope the Justice Department order in the SWP's suit will serve to encourage the leaders of Black organizations throughout the country to take steps to win the same kind of rulings against the FBI, as well as other government agencies.

The Justice Department ruling also opens the door to pressing ahead with the fight against the web of secret-police agencies—federal, state, and local—who carry out spying and disruption operations in tandem with the FBI, and who have justified their operations against the SWP and YSA on the basis of the FBI's investigation.

These include secret-police agencies such as the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the Internal Revenue Service, a unit that has figured prominently in the frame-ups, victimizations, and outright murders of Chicano activists through the use of undercover informers and provocateurs.

It also includes the Central Intelligence Agency, which has already admitted in court in response to questions from the SWP that it carries out burglaries and electronic surveillance against socialists traveling and living abroad. The CIA claims, however, that it would endanger "national security" if it were compelled to release the details of these crimes.

Other federal agencies with files on the SWP are also defendants in the suit. These include Military Intelligence, the Secret Service, and the supersecret National Security Agency.

There are also files and informers maintained by city police "red squads" around the country, all of whom cite

the FBI as the "authority" needed for continuing these operations. Suits demanding disclosure of these files and an end to the spying are pending in a number of cities.

The decision of the attorney general of the United States that there is no basis for any "investigation" of the SWP or YSA knocks the props out from under the position taken by these local cops in defense of their spy operations.

Ongoing disclosures

The sharp retreat by the administration represented by the Levi ruling comes in the midst of a continuing wave of disclosures of illegal activity. Many of the revelations have come out in connection with the socialists' case.

• Just this week, for example, cops in Los Angeles arrested a Nazi in connection with an investigation of the 1975 bombing of a headquarters of Omari Musa, the SWP candidate for Senate from California. The Nazi was taken into custody along with a monumental supply of military hardware and weapons, including half a million rounds of ammunition. (See story on page 3.)

• The *New York Times* disclosed September 14 that the United States Civil Service Commission "has routinely relied on the 'subversive' intelligence files of local police agencies as source material in such inquiries." Workers applying for federal jobs are never told of such inquiries and are given no opportunity to rebut the charges contained in the "subversive" files.

• U.S. Rep. Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) revealed last week that the telephone company, as a "matter of national policy" turns over unlisted numbers to local, state, and federal political police outfits.

• In Memphis, the American Civil Liberties Union filed suit September 14 against the city chief of police, who burned political spy files despite a federal court order prohibiting their destruction. Memphis is the city where Martin Luther King, Jr., was gunned down in April 1968, a killing that has been shrouded in mystery ever since.

• Throughout recent months, the case brought by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance has figured prominently in the national debate over the issue of democratic rights versus police spying. As the widely circulated liberal weekly *The Nation* put it this week, the SWP has been the "fountain of revelations" about the FBI and other agencies.

Rulers' dilemma

It is clear that the rulers of this country have decided that steps must be taken to persuade the American people that the string of disclosures should be ended. That is why they are willing to pay the high political price of having the attorney general state, in effect, that there is no evidence of any illegal acts or plans by the SWP.

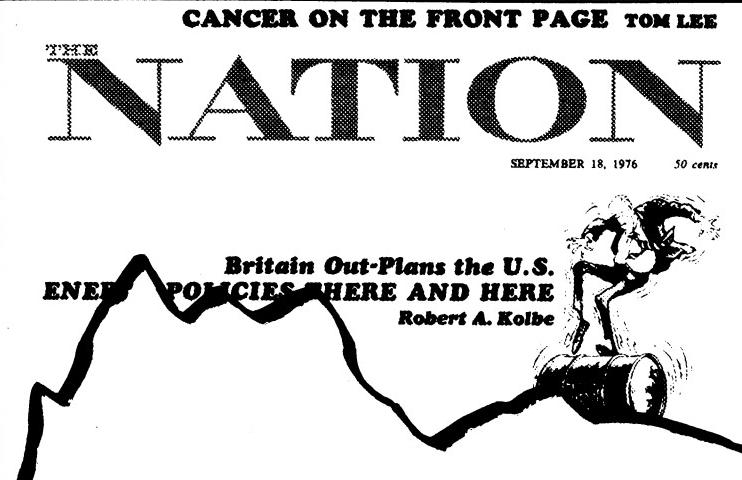
In return, they hope, the disclosures being generated by the socialists' suit and the political campaign around it can finally be halted.

The editors of the *New York Times* expressed this in an editorial entitled "Case Closed" in today's *Times*. The editorial states that the Justice Department move "will bring down the curtain on a saga involving some 92 illegal burglaries of the party headquarters between 1960 and 1966, write off the salaries of hundreds of paid F.B.I. informants, and stamp 'case closed' on the 8 million separate files they accumulated."

But that editorial is an expression of a wish, not a fact. Far from closing the case, the Levi move opens up a whole new stage in the Socialist Workers' case, and in their fight to bring down the nation's secret-police apparatus.

In an interview with the *Militant*, SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes said, "The SWP will do everything in our power to deepen and continue the exposures and disclosures of the government's attacks on the democratic

Continued on page 30



'One must wish the Socialist Workers Party and their counsel, Leonard Boudin and Herbert Jordan, well in their suit against the government. Their cause in this action should be the cause of all Americans.'

The Nation

Editorial

September 18, 1976

The lawsuit by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance against government harassment has already won unprecedented victories.

It has forced the FBI to turn over more than 20,000 pages from the agency's secret files. It published records from government Cointelpro disruption programs. It documented FBI burglaries and illegal surveillance.

And the attorney general has been forced to admit there is no legal basis for FBI investigation—long a code word for harassment—of the SWP.

Now the lawsuit is demanding that the FBI turn over the rest of its files on the socialists. The other government secret-police agencies must open up their files too. Let's see the records of the CIA, Secret Service, military intelligence.

You can help this historic legal offensive through the Political Rights Defense Fund. The PRDF is organizing support for the lawsuit and raising money for costly court proceedings.

You can become a sponsor of PRDF by returning this coupon. You can contribute. You can organize meetings about the lawsuit for schools, trade unions, and community groups.

Take up "the cause of all Americans," as *The Nation* correctly describes this lawsuit. Support the PRDF.

Your cause, too.

Add my name as a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____.

Send me more information about the lawsuit and PRDF.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Telephone _____

Organization (for identification only) _____

Return to PRDF, P.O. Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003

Blocking the cover-ups

Socialist suit exposes roots of Watergate

By Andy Rose

In 1941 the top leaders of the Socialist Workers party were framed up by the FBI and sentenced to prison for their socialist and antiwar views.

Today, thirty-five years later, the tables have turned.

FBI agents—hauled into court for burglarizing socialist offices—are scurrying for legal cover and ratting on their superiors. Bureau sources fear “mass resignations.” Top G-man Clarence Kelley is caught lying and covering up FBI crimes.

And now the Justice Department—hoping to halt the floodtide of revelations that has wrecked the FBI’s credibility—declares it is directing the FBI to give up altogether on its decades-long “investigation” of the SWP. What happened?

Washington’s political police have been discredited, demoralized, and debilitated in large part as a result of the lawsuit initiated by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance more than three years ago.

To understand how this historic offensive against government crimes has unfolded, it helps to recall the circumstances under which the suit was launched.

Nixon furor

It is July 18, 1973. Three weeks ago, John Dean first testified that Nixon took part in covering up the Watergate break-in. Two days ago, Alexander Butterfield first revealed the existence of the White House tapes.

National attention centers on the Senate Watergate committee headed by Sam Ervin. The big question, according to the capitalist politicians and news media, is how much Nixon knew about Watergate and when he knew it.

In the midst of the Nixon furor, the SWP and YSA file suit in federal court. They charge Nixon, Mitchell, Halderman, Ehrlichman, and other government officials as responsible for “illegal acts of blacklisting, harassment, electronic surveillance, burglary, mail tampering, and terrorism” against SWP and YSA members and supporters.

The suit asks for a court injunction to halt all government harassment, spying, and intimidation of the socialists. It also seeks to have the attorney general’s witch-hunting list of “subversive organizations” ruled unconstitutional, and asks \$27 million in damages.

The socialists have launched this unprecedented legal action because they have a perspective on Watergate very different from that prevalent at the time.

Linda Jenness, 1972 presidential candidate of the SWP and a plaintiff in the suit, explains this at the news conference announcing the suit.

“The Watergate revelations have laid bare a network of illegal undercover police operations and government secrecy,” she says.

“These methods of rule are not merely an aberration that can be attributed to one party, or one wing of one party. [They] have been maintained and expanded for decades under both Democratic and Republican administrations.”

The real victims

In an open letter appealing for support to the suit, Jenness and Andrew Pulley, her 1972 running mate, further assert that the main victims of illegal government plots have been antiwar activists, Black liberation fighters, trade-union militants, advocates of women’s rights, and other fighters for social justice.

While the liberals were trying to pin exclusive blame for Watergate-style crimes on Nixon, J. Edgar Hoover, and



Militant/Flax Hermes

SUMMER 1973: Ervin committee (top) covers up extent of Watergate crimes. Socialists launch suit to expose illegal spying and harassment. At opening news conference: Andrew Pulley, Leonard Boudin, Linda Jenness.

a few others, the SWP said that government deceit and secret-police operations are a fundamental feature of capitalist rule.

No congressional committees, no special prosecutors, no impeachments of individual crooks, no official “cleanup” of the spy agencies could be relied upon to expose and end these *bipartisan* violations of democratic rights. But these violations were precisely the crimes the socialist suit aimed to uncover.

The SWP had a long history of defending its members and others from government frame-ups. But the new political climate of radicalization and revulsion at such methods, the socialists believed, now made it possible for the first time to take the *offensive* against illegal spying and harassment.

Leonard Boudin, general counsel for the SWP and the YSA, said he hoped the case would pave the way for similar actions by other political parties and groups victimized by Watergate-style practices.

Results came slowly at first. The government tried to stonewall, claiming “executive privilege” and “national security” reasons for withholding evidence from the SWP. But there were some breaks.

Lori Paton, a New Jersey high school student, took the FBI to court for harassing her after she sent a letter to the SWP requesting information as part of a school project. The Paton case proved the FBI was reading mail sent to the SWP.

In December 1973, NBC reporter Carl Stern obtained—after a long court

battle—two FBI memos on Cointelpro, the now-famous “Counterintelligence Programs” to “expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize” radicals and protesters.

These memos included the first public disclosure of the FBI’s “Socialist Workers Party Disruption Program.” Armed with this new information, the SWP was able to demand that specific FBI files be handed over to it in preparation for the trial.

The next big turn in the case didn’t come until January 1975. Socialist professor Morris Starsky obtained files showing that the FBI had sent anonymous poison-pen letters seeking to have him fired from the philosophy department at Arizona State University in 1970.

The Starsky papers were a tiny preview of the 3,138 pages of Cointelpro files the FBI finally handed over in March 1975. These documents proved the FBI had disrupted SWP election campaigns, planted smear stories in the press, tried to get socialists fired from their jobs and evicted from their homes, and instigated red-baiting attacks on the SWP and YSA within the antiwar and Black movements. And lots more.

It was enough to fill a book. That book is *Cointelpro: The FBI’s Secret War on Political Freedom*, by Nelson Blackstock, now available in an expanded edition from Vintage Books.

The FBI claimed to have terminated Cointelpro in 1971, but the socialists quickly provided evidence that such tactics were never ended.

In 1973 and early 1974, while the suit



‘While liberals pinned exclusive blame for Watergate crimes on Nixon, Hoover, and a few others, SWP said that government deceit and secret police operations are fundamental features of capitalist rule.’



was still in its preliminary stages, the ruling class began to seriously consider sacrificing the hopelessly discredited Nixon. Through his impeachment or forced resignation, they hoped to halt the spreading disillusionment with capitalist politics and show that “the system works.”

The SWP and YSA stood virtually alone among radical groups in opposing efforts to channel the outrage over Watergate into a campaign focused on Richard Nixon.

“The problems facing working people can’t be solved by putting another capitalist politician in to replace Nixon,” the *Militant* argued in a front-page editorial November 9, 1973. “... It is the capitalist system that is responsible for Watergate in the first place.”

The SWP’s response to Watergate had two related aspects. One was to persistently explain the need for independent *working-class* political action against the antidemocratic, racist, antilabor policies of both capitalist parties.

The second was to press ahead with the party’s campaign demanding more files on the government’s disruption program, refusing to subordinate that fight in defense of democratic rights to any scheme aimed at cleaning up the government’s act.

When Nixon was finally forced to resign in August 1974, the *Militant* warned: “Now the real cover-up begins ... the cover-up of this system of *class rule*—a system that is by necessity built on corruption, on secrecy, and on lies.”

Democrats and Republicans alike declared the Watergate era ended. “Our long national nightmare is over,” said President Ford.

But wishful thinking was not enough. Watergate would not go away. And the American Trotskyists’ suit began to play a more and more important role in blocking the cover-up of continuing government crimes.

The cover-up committees

As more news of spy agency “abuses” leaked out—focusing in late 1974 on CIA assassination plots and domestic spying—the government felt compelled to set up still more blue-ribbon panels. Ford appointed the Rockefeller commission on the CIA, while both houses of Congress established special committees on intelligence.

The aim of these committees was never to make a full disclosure of CIA and FBI crimes, any more than the Ervin Watergate committee had aimed to get to the bottom of the White House horrors.

Run by Democratic and Republican politicians who defend capitalist rule, and who therefore must accept the necessity of agencies like the CIA and FBI, these committees sought to sanitize their image and restore confidence in the integrity of the government.

They saw only what they wanted to see. They uncovered only as much as they thought they had to.

CIA files obtained through the SWP suit helped to promptly discredit the Rockefeller commission report. These files proved that domestic CIA spying was more extensive and continued longer than claimed in the Rockefeller report.

What had begun as a trickle of revelations turned into an avalanche in March 1976, when the SWP forced the release of the first files proving FBI burglaries of socialist offices—ninety-two break-ins in New York City alone from 1960 to 1966.

FBI chief Clarence Kelley solemnly insisted that all burglaries ended in 1966. Both congressional committees

Continued on page 30

SWP demands inquiry of new Nazi threats

Denver grand jury probes FBI burglary

By Anne Forest

DENVER—A local grand jury has begun investigating the July burglary of Socialist Workers party campaign offices here by paid FBI informer Timothy Redfearn.

The July theft of party records set in motion a chain of events that led to the unmasking of Redfearn, who was posing as a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, and the release of his informer file.

The FBI was forced to hand over its file on Redfearn under federal court order in connection with the SWP's and YSA's \$40 million lawsuit against government surveillance and harassment.

The informer file, the first of its kind ever made public, contains proof that

FBI Director Clarence Kelley and the local bureau conspired to cover up the July burglary. In addition, the file details other burglaries Redfearn committed against the socialists for the FBI.

On September 9 the grand jury heard testimony from Redfearn and a number of local FBI agents. Also testifying was Ruth Getts, organizer of the SWP when the burglary took place.

In a statement issued after her appearance before the jury, Getts said, "Redfearn and the FBI have clearly outlined their responsibility for the burglary and other acts of illegal harassment in files turned over to us and already made public."

"We demand that the grand jury bring indictments against both Red-

fearn and the FBI itself."

Getts is also demanding that the grand jury investigate links between Redfearn and the FBI and a continuing campaign of harassment of the SWP by Nazis.

On August 30 red swastikas were discovered painted on the SWP's campaign headquarters. Since that time the campaign has received a daily stream of racist hate mail from Nazis, saying such things as, "Hitler was right. Who needs niggers" and, "We are watching you."

Redfearn may well be connected with the Nazi group. When members of the SWP and YSA visited him to question him about the July burglary, after the newspapers cited him as a suspect, they found his apartment

decorated with Nazi flags and armbands.

Getts told the *Militant*, "We think the grand jury has the duty to investigate possible direct involvement by Redfearn and the FBI in this ongoing attempt to harass and intimidate the SWP."

"At the very least, the FBI, because of its illegal actions against our party, is responsible for creating an atmosphere where vile racist outfits like the Nazis feel free to carry out their intimidation campaigns."

"As long as these criminals feel free to harass and carry out illegal acts against the SWP and YSA, the democratic rights of every citizen of Denver are threatened."

UFW convention endorses Democrats

By Arnold Weissberg

FRESNO, Calif.—The first political endorsing convention of the United Farm Workers, held here September 5, gave the union's official backing to Jimmy Carter and incumbent U.S. Sen. John Tunney. The convention also endorsed candidates for local offices around California.

The aim of the gathering, according to the UFW leadership, was to secure elected representatives who would protect the interests of the union.

Although much of the discussion at the convention concerned Proposition 14, the UFW-sponsored farm labor initiative, at times the meeting had the character of a Democratic party rally.

Officials of the UFW and other unions joined with invited politicians in extolling the virtues of Jimmy Carter. They asserted that a Democratic administration would protect farm workers and all working people.

UFW Vice-president Philip Vera Cruz told the gathering that "we have the power to be felt by the politicians." He said that political power would be used for social change that would benefit all people.

Unfortunately, the union's political muscle is being exercised in the wrong place. Despite the speeches about getting representation in Sacramento and in Washington, support to the Democratic party will leave the UFW unrepresented in the political arena.

Neither Democrats nor Republicans can be trusted to defend the interests of farm workers or any other workers.

In California it was the Democratic party, led by Gov. Edmund Brown, that permitted the Agricultural Labor Relations Board to become defunct. It was the failure to fund the ALRB that made Proposition 14 necessary.

Jimmy Carter's waffling on Proposition 14 is a good example of why neither capitalist party can be trusted.

In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times* in August, Carter said he had "no objection" to Proposition 14. When challenged by growers, Carter backed off, stating that he had no position at all.

But speaking to the UFW convention by telephone from Georgia, Carter said, "I support the objectives of Proposition 14." (Emphasis added.)

The Democratic candidate's vague words left many in the audience wondering just what he meant. A few minutes later, UFW President César Chávez told the gathering: "Carter says he definitely supports Prop. 14."

Chávez said at that point that the union would support Carter.

At the convention, prior to the endorsement of Tunney, Omari Musa, Socialist Workers party candidate for

U.S. Senate, addressed a committee set up to hear different candidates.

Musa stressed the need for the labor movement—and the UFW in particular—to break with the Democrats and Republicans and run its own candidates.

Musa pointed out that the farm workers needed a union—an economic

organization—to get justice from the growers.

He said that they also needed their own political organization. The socialist candidate explained that support to either capitalist party was a dead end.

Musa also said that his party would stand by the UFW in its struggle for justice no matter which candidates the

union endorsed.

Frobén Lozada, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress in the Ninth District, also spoke to an endorsement caucus.

Lozada described the two-party system as "two fires the ruling class uses to burn us. Whatever candidate they run, he feeds the fires."

Vote yes on Prop. 14!



UFW convention set drive to win approval of farm labor initiative on November ballot

Militant/Arnold Weissberg

By Arnold Weissberg

FRESNO, Calif.—"Sí con catorce! Sí con catorce! [Yes on 14!]. Two thousand voices joined together, making very clear the determination of the United Farm Workers to win their fight for the right to vote in the fields.

The occasion was the first UFW political endorsing convention, held here September 5. Although the convention was called for the purpose of endorsing candidates, much of the discussion centered on the campaign to pass the UFW-sponsored farm labor initiative, Proposition 14.

More than 1,000 delegates from 223 ranches unanimously adopted an action program for the statewide campaign to pass Proposition 14. An additional 1,000 observers also attended.

The enthusiastic response to every mention of the initiative gave a vivid measure of the willingness of the *campesinos* to fight for their union.

Marshall Ganz, UFW National Executive Board member and director of the Proposition 14 drive, reported to the convention that 150,000 "Yes on 14" bumper stickers had been distributed in only eighteen days. Ganz added that donations for the stickers now total \$28,000.

The growers, Ganz noted, planned to raise \$2 million to defeat Proposition 14. "But," he emphasized, "we have the people."

The UFW campaign will focus on reaching individual voters through leafleting, canvassing, and community meetings.

Ganz cautioned against overoptimism. "It won't be easy to pass Prop. 14," he said. While the boycott of grapes and lettuce needs only 10 or 15 percent public participation to be effective, Proposition 14 needs 51 percent of the votes—perhaps as many as 5 million votes.

Ganz said that the union needed at least 500 full-time volunteers to

work on the campaign. He said that there were 300 now, and by election day the union would like to field 1,000 full-timers.

The convention also asked for support for Proposition 14 from labor and religious groups, political leaders, and students.

A measure of the union's support among California voters can be seen in recent endorsers, which include Gov. Edmund Brown, the mayors of Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Sacramento, and U.S. Senators Alan Cranston and John Tunney. Clearly they see it as a political asset to associate themselves with the farm workers' fight for justice.

The estimate by Ganz of the prospect for passage of Proposition 14 is a realistic one. Certainly there is strong sentiment for its passage, but the opposition forces are wealthy and unscrupulous. Proposition 14 can win but it will take an all-out effort by every partisan of the United Farm Workers.

Historic victory

SWP slate wins spot on California ballot

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The Socialist Workers party has won a place on the California ballot.

Officials reported September 10 that they had certified 108,937 petition signatures for Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid and an additional 105,407 for Omari Musa, the party's senatorial candidate. A minimum of 99,284 signatures of registered voters are required. The SWP filed 152,280 for Camejo and Reid and 148,503 for Musa.

The Communist party slate of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner was denied a

BULLETIN, San Francisco, Sept. 14—A superior court judge today ordered the Communist party presidential ticket placed on the California ballot. He made this decision after registrars from Los Angeles County and others reportedly conceded that they had not made a full and accurate count in disqualifying the Hall-Tyner ticket.

ballot place even though it also filed well over the number required.

The presidential nominee of the right-wing Libertarian party was qualified for the ballot. Supporters of the independent bid of Eugene McCarthy failed to submit the minimum signatures needed. A superior court judge rejected their application for an exten-

sion of the petitioning deadline.

Certification of the SWP represents a historic victory for the socialist movement. Because of restrictive election laws there has not been a socialist on the California ballot in many years. This will be the first time ever for the SWP.

Party members and supporters accomplished a prodigious task in gathering some 300,000 signatures for Camejo-Reid and Musa in a relatively brief time. And it was done despite a rigged law and the machinations of election officials determined to perpetuate the present restricted ballot.

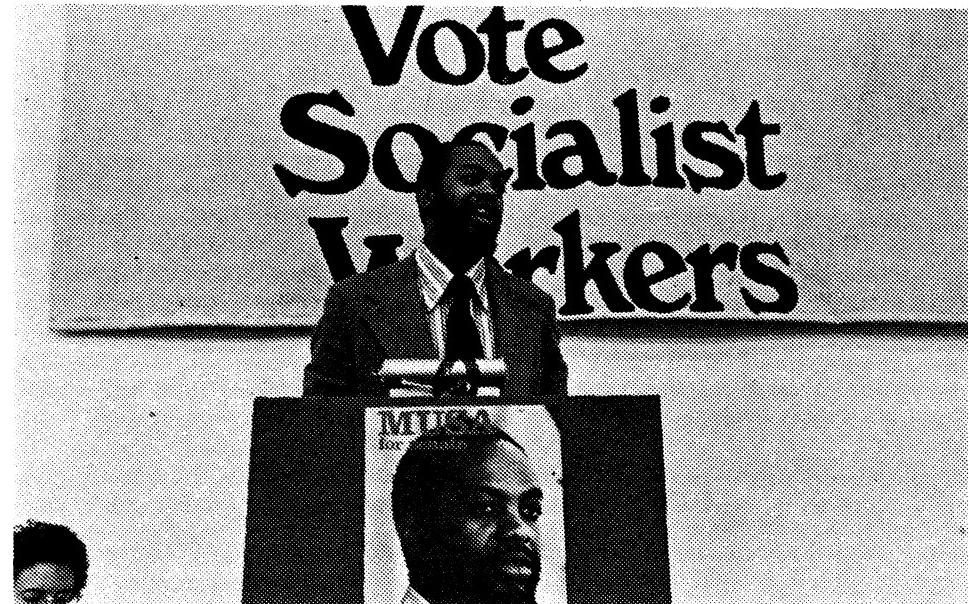
The socialists drew many signatures from among the growing numbers becoming disillusioned with the major parties and their incapacity to solve problems confronting working people.

The SWP will now mount an all-out drive to reach that body of voters with the socialist program.

The final stage of the campaign was kicked off with the arrival here September 19 of Willie Mae Reid for a week of intensive stumping throughout the state.

At the same time Omari Musa embarked on a final campaign swing that will take him to all major areas of the state before election day.

Along with ballot certification, Musa won something more. Despite the huge number of signatures required, independent presidential nominees are denied the right to list the party



Omari Musa speaking in Los Angeles

Militant/Dennis Scarla

designation on the state ballot. However, election officials ruled that senatorial nominees can list their occupation on the ballot.

Musa will be on the ballot with the occupational designation, "Socialist Workers spokesperson."

The Communist party's Hall-Tyner campaign committee has filed suit in San Francisco Superior Court challenging the rejection of their petitions.

The party filed a total of 149,741 nominating signatures on behalf of its presidential slate. Election officials asserted that of these only 87,825 were valid.

That would mean that only 58.7 percent of the names submitted were valid. This contrasts, for example, with a validity rate of 71.5 percent for Camejo and Reid and 67.5 for the Libertarian candidate.

When the SWP submitted signatures initially, election officials also reported a validity rate of less than 60 percent. But the party canvassers checked through the rejected names and found a substantial number of valid ones. Officials were then compelled to revise their figures upward.

Clearly there were similar "errors" in the processing of the Hall-Tyner petitions.

The SWP has declared its full support to this challenge.

Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid sent a telegram to the Communist party declaring, "We stand ready to support any legal challenge by your candidate to this outrageous violation of your democratic rights."

The telegram said that the SWP had wired the secretary of state demanding that Hall and Tyner be qualified for the ballot.

NY petitions

NEW YORK, Sept. 14—The New York Socialist Workers party said today that a challenge has been filed against the nominating petitions for its presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid and for SWP senatorial candidate Marcia Gallo. The SWP had filed well over the required number of valid signatures.

SWP New York congressional candidates Catarino Garza, Pat Wright, and Keith Jones were not challenged; nor was the SWP state assembly candidate, Ruthann Miller.

It was noted that the New York Communist party was also challenged, while no challenge was filed against the right-wing National Caucus of Labor Committees.

Marcia Gallo said that the New York SWP is launching a drive to urge defenders of civil liberties to join in protesting this undemocratic move. Telegrams should be sent to the state board of elections, 194 Washington Avenue, Albany, New York 12225. Please send copies to, and for further information contact, the SWP campaign headquarters, 853 Broadway, Room 412, New York 10003.

RUP candidates challenged

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—Three of four Raza Unida party candidates in the Los Angeles area have been ruled off the ballot by the county registrar of voters.

The RUP, which has unfairly been denied ballot status as a party, was forced to qualify its candidates by petitioning. The signature requirements are stiff—one candidate for Congress, Abel Mendoza, needed to gather over 6,500 valid signatures in a single district.

The undemocratic requirements are made even worse by a tangle of laws that restrict who can petition and where the petitioning can be done. These laws are designed to make it as difficult as possible for any candidate but Democrats and

Republicans to qualify for the ballot.

Mendoza's supporters turned in over 8,600 signatures, a tremendous achievement, but the county credited only 5,800.

The story was the same with the other two disqualified candidates. Despite the difficult, time-consuming work done by RUP activists and supporters, only José González, candidate for state assembly in Norwalk, will be permitted on the ballot.

Andrés Torres, RUP state chairperson and candidate in the Thirty-ninth Assembly District, was credited with only 3,200 signatures after submitting 5,000.

At press time the RUP was weighing a course of action to protest its undemocratic exclusion from the ballot.

Socialists set \$20,000 election fund drive

By Andrea Morell, director
1976 campaign committee

In a recent issue of *Afro-American*, the Urban League's Vernon Jordan scored the Democratic and Republican candidates for their ignorance on the living conditions of Blacks in cities:

"It would be instructive," said Jordan, "for the candidates to walk through some big city slums and talk to the people there, see how they have to cope with poverty and brutalizing living conditions and observe at first hand how the blight of housing abandonment has made some parts of major cities resemble the bombed-out shells of a war-ravaged nation."

Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid did just that as her fall campaign opened in Philadelphia September 11.

The photo on the facing *Militant* page shows Reid touring northwest Philadelphia.

That's the beginning of Reid's fall campaign. She and SWP presidential

candidate Peter Camejo will be visiting more than forty cities in the final weeks before the November vote.

Their tours take place as the polls show more and more people fed up with capitalist politics and unwilling to vote either Republican or Democratic. These are people—and estimates run to over 50 percent of American voters—who will be interested in hearing socialist ideas.

The Camejo-Reid tours highlight:

- Challenging the proposed Ford-Carter debates. The socialist candidates are in court to force the League of Women Voters, the TV networks, and the Federal Communications Commission to open up the debates. They want to break the Democratic and Republican monopoly on television coverage.
- Suing the government to end FBI, CIA, and other surveillance and harassment of radical organizations.
- The fight for jobs. Nearly one million copies of the SWP campaign

platform, the "Bill of Rights for Working People," have been distributed in the campaign so far. Hundreds of thousands more will be distributed in the next weeks.

• Exposing the real policies of capitalist parties. A key piece of socialist campaign literature is the "Carter Fact Sheet," detailing Carter's racist and antilabor record in Georgia.

Many ingredients go into making this campaign possible—and a crucial one of these is adequate money.

Just flying Camejo and Reid to the cities on their tours takes thousands of dollars.

In order to do it, to distribute as much socialist literature as possible, and to support the many other projects of the SWP campaign, we are launching the Camejo and Reid Campaign Fund.

From now until November 15 we need to raise \$20,000.

The Camejo and Reid Campaign

Fund needs your help. Its progress will be reported weekly in the *Militant*.

Please fill out the coupon below and send it with your contribution to the fund. Make checks payable to the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee and mail them to 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

— — — — —
 Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Occupation _____

Business address _____

A copy of our report is on file with and available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. Chairperson, Linda Jeness; treasurer, Arthur Hughes.

Reid blasts two-party monopoly

SWP files challenge to Ford-Carter debate

By Matilde Zimmerman

PHILADELPHIA—"We're not accepting any 'gentleman's agreement' to restrict what the American people can hear to Democrats and Republicans," Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid declared.

Reid opened her fall campaign tour in Philadelphia September 11. The city is scheduled for the first of the "Great Debates."

Last week Reid and SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo filed a request with the three major networks for equal time in the debates. When this was rejected, attorneys for the SWP asked the Federal Communications Commission, September 10, for an "expedited ruling" ordering that equal time be provided for Camejo and Reid.

Attorneys Leonard Boudin and Eric Lieberman are preparing to file suit in New York if the FCC does not rule favorably.

Thomas Anderson, presidential candidate of the American party, and Eugene McCarthy, independent candidate for president, have also filed lawsuits for inclusion in the debates.

In Philadelphia, Reid also publicized a demonstration that has been called by SWP supporters for September 23 to protest the exclusionary debates. A picket line will go up in front of the Walnut Street Theater where they will be televised. Reid urged other candidates who are also being excluded, and their supporters, to join the picket.

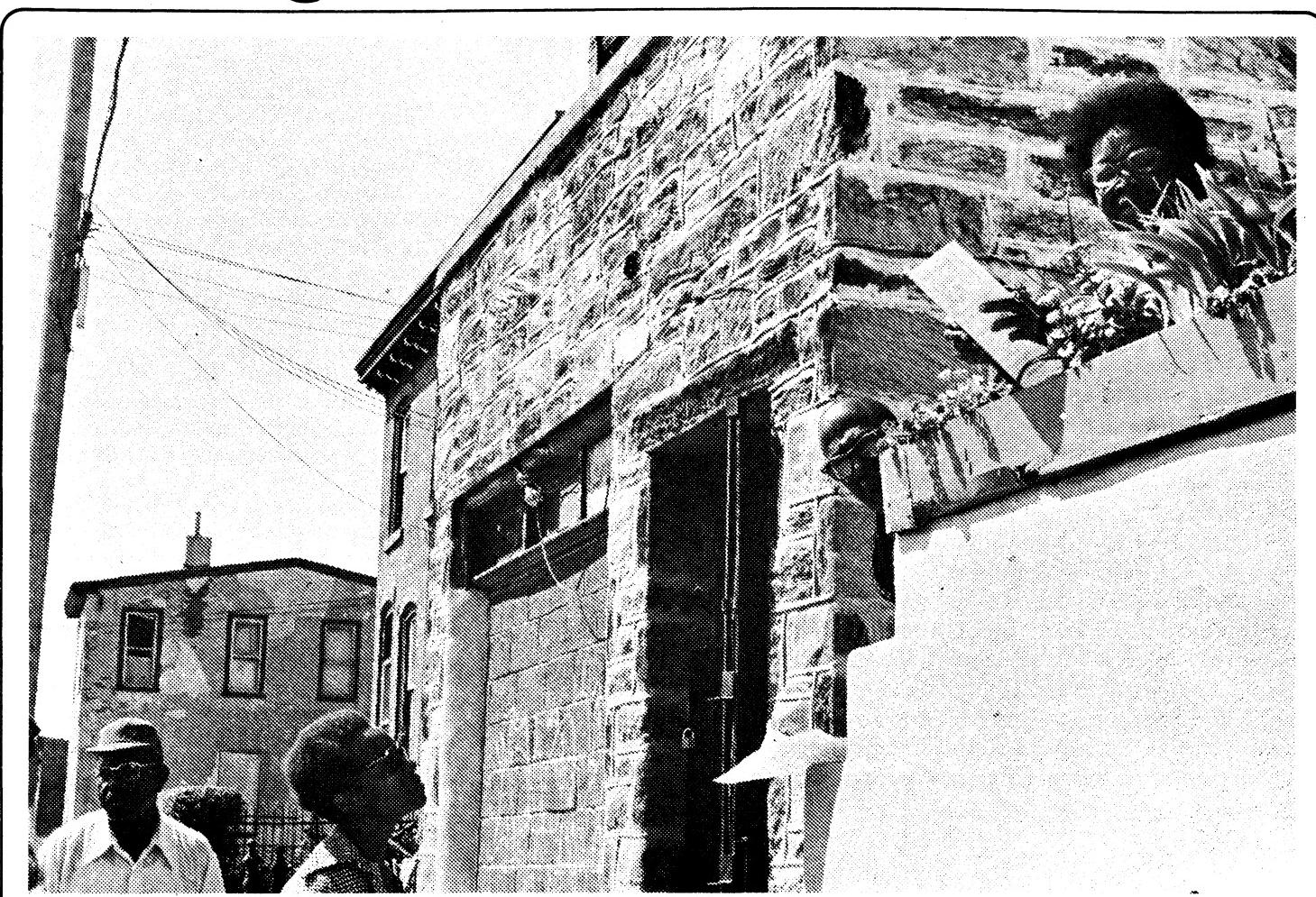
Reid's message was carried in the city's two major newspapers, the evening *Bulletin*, September 11, and the morning *Inquirer* the next day.

"The Democrats and Republicans are the real minority candidates in this race," Reid charged.

In a campaign appearance at Philadelphia's Temple University, she said, "Carter and Ford got less than 8 percent of the voting population to vote for them in the primaries. They can't claim any 'right' to monopolize the airwaves on the basis of popularity."

The Democrats and Republicans "are using their control of government, including the Federal Communications Commission, to keep other views from being heard," Reid said.

The response Reid received in Philadelphia underlined that there is growing sentiment against a closed discussion between the Democratic and



Militant/Matilde Zimmerman

Willie Mae Reid in Northwest Philadelphia. Reid made a fact-finding tour of the neighborhood. Accompanying her was Emmanuel Freeman, director of the Northwest Task Force on Abandoned Housing. Freeman told Reid 15 percent of all housing in Philadelphia is abandoned; closer to 80 percent in the area they examined.

Republican contenders. An authoritative recent poll by Hart Research Associates indicates that some 70 million qualified voters will deliberately stay away from the polls on November 2, roughly two-thirds of them because "candidates say one thing and do another" or because "it doesn't make any difference who is elected."

Objection to the closed debate was recently raised on the floor of the U.S. Senate by Sen. Lowell Weicker (R-Conn.). Weicker charged that the "major parties are about to put one over on the voters."

"I find it a sad commentary on the state of our political system," Weicker said, "that independent candidates for president are not afforded the same opportunity to present their views to the nation as are President Ford and Mr. Carter." Weicker said the debate

arrangements displayed "a severe case of political insecurity by two aging giants."

Such views have apparently forced the League of Women Voters to consider setting up a fifth debate especially for "minority candidates," according to a report in the September 12 *New York Times*. The *Times* itself editorially called upon the league and the networks to provide "a separate program, apart from the debates, to air the views of those independent candidates who have achieved a place on the ballot."

In the meantime, the league has announced that it will seek more than \$150,000 in public contributions to pay for the Ford-Carter debates.

"The league is supposed to be nonpartisan," Reid said in Philadelphia.

"They should ask, who would the debate between these two men represent?"

"Not women, who make up 53 percent of the population."

"Not Blacks. We're 30 million strong."

"Not working people. Carter tries to pretend he's a worker, walking through the peanut fields. But the only job he ever had was squeezing another dollar out of the Blacks who do the work in those Georgia fields."

"By locking out all other points of view, the league, the networks, and the government want to convince us that the Democrats and Republicans can solve our problems. Well," Reid said, "we won't buy that, and there is a growing army of nonvoters in this country who don't seem to buy it either."

Must raise \$1.6 million bond

NAACP wages life-or-death fight in Miss.

By Greg Nelson

JACKSON, Miss.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is involved in a life-or-death struggle. The civil rights group must raise more than \$1.6 million by October 3.

This crisis is the result of a racist conspiracy.

Back in 1968 Mississippi passed a law aimed at circumventing federal rulings on local issues. As a condition for appealing a local judgment in a civil suit to a higher court, the law requires a defendant to post within forty-five days a bond equal to one-and-one-quarter times the fine levied by the original decision.

Immediately after the law was passed, a group of white businessmen in Port Gibson filed civil suit against the NAACP for \$3.5 million in damages, for losses they said were the result of a boycott of their businesses.

This boycott, like dozens of others in the South, was called in response to

racist business practices. The Port Gibson businessmen depended on Black customers but did not hire a single Black person.

Such boycotts are normally legal. However, in this case the judge ruled that it was an illegal secondary boycott since he decided it was carried out in reaction to local police brutality rather than the racist practices of the businessmen.

On August 19 Hinds County Judge George Haynes ordered the NAACP to pay \$1.25 million in damages to the businesses.

Such rulings are not uncommon in Mississippi. They are usually appealed to a higher court where publicity can arouse a public outcry and force a more equitable decision. But the 1968 law is designed to make it almost impossible to get a new hearing.

Judge Haynes's decision came on the heels of an earlier decision involving the NAACP and the Mississippi ap-

peal law. That case centered on Mississippi Highway Patrol Officer R.E. Moody, who stopped a Black man on the highway for speeding and savagely beat him.

The Jackson NAACP called for Moody's dismissal. Moody filed suit for \$1 million in slander and libel damages and was awarded \$210,000 by the court. The Jackson NAACP was forced to raise \$265,000 to post bond on an appeal to the state supreme court, where the case now rests.

The attorney for the Port Gibson merchants is moving to collect the settlement.

The *Militant* asked NAACP Executive Field Director Emmett Burns what the impact would be on his office. "It would cease to exist," he replied. "They would take this desk and this shirt and tie and my '71 Buick along with it."

"It would reduce the civil rights movement in this country to individual and disjointed actions. It would be a

giant step backwards. It is a direct attack on our First Amendment right to peaceful protest."

In a Jackson press conference national NAACP chief counsel Nathaniel Jones stated, "It would ruin the NAACP and threaten trade unions and other organizations which regard protest as a means of presenting views and effecting change. If the strategy which resulted in the judgment succeeds, then we're all in trouble. It will spread across the land."

Nationally, a massive emergency fund drive is under way to save the NAACP. The NAACP can be reached at 1790 Broadway, New York, New York 10019. Or, at 1072 W. Lynch Street, Jackson, Mississippi 39203.

Meanwhile, in response to the harsh court ruling, Blacks have begun a new boycott of several white businesses in Port Gibson. A white liquor store owner said the boycott has "cut my business in half."

Daniel Schorr

Never before has the House of Representatives Ethics Committee been so eager. Last year at least fifteen congressmen faced charges of wrongdoing. Four went to jail. But the Ethics Committee did nothing.

It is different for television journalist Daniel Schorr. The Ethics Committee has suddenly assumed the role of a relentless bloodhound. It has spent \$150,000 on a six-month investigation that has proved nothing.

What is Schorr's crime? Simply opening up the truth about the CIA for the American people. Schorr blew the cover off the congressional report on the CIA when he passed it on to the *Village Voice* last February.

When cross-examined by the Ethics Committee September 15, Schorr refused to say who had given him the report. Schorr appealed to the First Amendment, which guarantees freedom of the press. The Ethics Committee has threatened Schorr nine times with the possibility of arrest or fines if he keeps silent.

Prominent journalists have now spoken out in Schorr's defense. And labor leaders Leonard Woodcock of the United Auto Workers and Jerry Wurf of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees are backing him.

Daniel Schorr deserves the full support of all who value the right of people to know what the government is doing.

California victory

For the first time in decades the residents of the most populous state in the union can vote for a working-class alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties. The victory of the Socialist Workers party in winning a place on the California ballot is an important step forward for working people. The same is true of the new court ruling ordering the Communist party put on the ballot.

California's extraordinary petitioning requirements, legal hurdles, and delaying tactics are now better known. What is less known is that independent parties and candidates face similar hurdles in every other state. More than a third of the states have regulations that make it virtually impossible for parties other than the Democrats and Republicans to get on the ballot.

These barriers have been erected by the two ruling parties. Today they are able to claim the allegiance of fewer and fewer people. In the upcoming "great debates," these two parties are again conspiring—in collusion with the major networks and the League of Women Voters—to keep alternative political views from being heard.

These debates should be open to all parties and independent candidates.

And at the polls voters should be able to pick the party that best expresses their views.

The struggle to obtain these elementary democratic rights remains a crucial part of the struggle for social betterment in this country.

On to 20,000

Layoffs. High prices. Racism. Skyrocketing war budgets. Attacks on abortion rights. Pollution. U.S. support to right-wing tyrants abroad.

What do the newspapers we read day in and day out have to say about all these problems? What are their solutions?

This fall their wealthy publishers are choosing up sides: some behind Ford, others behind Carter. These big-business politicians have less and less appeal, however, as low voter turnouts are already proving.

Yet theirs are the "answers" played up by the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, New York *Times*, Atlanta *Constitution*, San Francisco *Examiner*, and all the rest.

More and more working people today are searching for new answers and for solutions that work. They need a newspaper that speaks to the issues facing steelworkers, teachers, women, oppressed minorities, and youth.

The *Militant* is just that kind of paper. It offers a fresh slant—a socialist slant—on the important national and world events that affect our lives.

But judge for yourself. The *Militant* has launched a drive for 20,000 new subscribers this fall. For only one dollar, you can receive ten issues of the weekly *Militant*.

Give us a try. Mail in the coupon on page 2 today.

AFT report

I wish to correct some points in Jeff Mackler's excellent report on the recent American Federation of Teachers convention (*Militant*, September 10).

Mackler reported that in speaking before the convention I stated that the Boston Teachers Union "had formally opposed the second year of court-ordered desegregation in Boston." This is not exactly correct. What the BTU did was to oppose it taking place during the second year, i.e. the BTU called for a one-year delay. This position coincided with that of the school committee and the antibusing forces.

Second, Mackler reported that the Massachusetts State AFL-CIO, after passing an antibusing resolution last fall, "joined with racist forces to organize antibusing demonstrations." Unlike Louisville, where Union Labor Against Busing led the antibusing movement, in Boston no labor organization played a formal role or formed a special labor group for that purpose.

However, many local unions, like the Teamsters and the Firefighters, took strong antibusing positions, and the ranks of the white working class have been significantly present in the racist, antibusing movement from the beginning.

These technical points only set the record straight; they do not change for one instant the fact that the entire Boston labor movement, save the most minor exception, has completely failed in its real responsibilities. Those are first, as George Meany correctly stated in his letter to Kentucky labor officials, "to seek workable schedules, to minimize friction and to make the busing system work as it was intended." And second, to join and lead the battle to prevent antibusing racists from brutalizing Black students.

Robert Pearlman
Boston, Massachusetts

Exceptional

Please send me the next ten issues of your publication the *Militant*. Enclosed is a check for one dollar.

I just completed reading my first Socialist Workers party newspaper and find it to be exceptional.

A prisoner
Pennsylvania

Utah ERA picket

I wanted to add something to your round-up of activities on "Women's Equality Day," August 26. Twenty-five supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment from throughout northern Utah gathered in Ogden, Utah, August 26 for a "Picket Parade for the ERA." The action was called by the Ogden National Organization for Women. It is the only NOW chapter in Utah.

The enthusiastic picketers chanted, "Equal rights, equal pay, ratify the ERA"; "Not the church, not the state, women will decide their fate"; and "200 years is long enough, equal rights now!" The demonstrators circled in front of the city-county building during the lunch hour. The picket line received prominent local television coverage on the Salt Lake City CBS and NBC affiliates.

Dayne Goodwin
Salt Lake City, Utah

Assata Shakur

As a political activist I've been reading movement papers for quite some time, and at this particular time I

feel your staff should give coverage to the trials and tribulations of Sister Assata Shakur (slave name: Joanne Chesimard). I'm quite certain that revolutionaries, socialists, and Third World peoples would like to lend their support to this courageous sister, but are unable to do so due to lack of information, media coverage, etc. [Shakur, allegedly a leader of the Black Liberation Army, will go on trial for murder September 27.]

I recently read where Shakur had already been through three major trials, which were barely reported by the National Black Network News, and it saddened me when I saw how little support she was getting. The inmates at Attica State Prison collected \$242 in support of Joanne Little. I strongly urge all readers of this letter to do the same for Sister Shakur. If she were massively supported like Angela Davis and Joanne Little, I'm quite certain it would help considerably. Please send donations to National Coalition to Defend Assata Shakur, P.O. Box 1352, New York, New York 10027.
A prisoner
New York

Thanks for in-depth news

I second the motion of letter-writer Jane Finley (*Militant*, August 27) for more major articles by women and, further, would like to see more writing as readable as Frank Lovell's. Even guest columnists in his space hold my interest!

Many thanks for all the in-depth news of the International Typographical Union; wonder why we don't see this in our union's beautifully produced publications? Printers in my shop find out what's happening from *Militant* clips on our bulletin board; the news is generally bad, but understanding the direction we should move in might be our only hope.
Anita Reinhaler
San Francisco, California

Boston busing costs

Readers of the *Militant* are likely to draw a mistaken conclusion from unclarified information contained in an article I wrote for the September 17 issue on the situation in Boston.

The article attributed a possible \$70 (per \$1,000) increase in property taxes to the "rise in the 1976-77 school department budget."

This is not accurate. The coming tax increase has been demagogically identified with the "cost of desegregation" by antibusing Mayor Kevin White, who for some time has conducted a campaign to blame "busing" for the city's financial crisis.

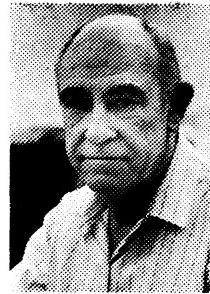
In reality, the real source of the money crunch is the toll exacted by Boston's landlords, bankers, and big businesses, who have been bleeding the city dry, along with the results of hundreds of millions of working people's tax dollars that go to pay for the Pentagon's war machine.

Even when narrowly considering the "cost" of desegregation, little mention is given to the tab for police and security required to stand in the way of antibusing mobs.

A central feature of the inflated budget of the school department is the enormity of its patronage-ridden bureaucracy. Boston, for example, has roughly the same population as San Francisco and Denver. Yet, its 1,340-member administrative staff is larger by nearly 1,000 than each of those cities.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



A lesson in sectarianism

[The following guest column was written by Howard Reed, an active member of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in Chicago.]

CHICAGO—Recent experiences in the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees here have spotlighted the destructive role of ultraleft sectarians in the union.

After a disastrous month-long strike, AFSCME Local 1006 has been placed in trusteeship by the AFSCME international officers. The local officers were removed, all local records impounded, and an administrator appointed by AFSCME President Jerry Wurf.

Local 1006's members work in the Illinois Department of Labor. There are continuous funding and layoff threats in this department. A haven for high-paid patronage appointees, it is notorious for inefficiency in paying claims.

Last June the state announced plans to lay off 123 workers. This threat called for prompt union action. An effective response would have started with negotiations seeking to rescind the layoffs. Meanwhile, the local—which has organized less than one-third of the department—could work to win broader support. If negotiations failed, the union would then be better prepared for whatever action was necessary.

The local leadership, however, shunned this approach and planned an immediate strike. The key leaders of the local are supporters of the Progressive Labor party, an ultraleft, ex-Maoist sect. The strike vote was organized so that a simple majority in Cook County (Chicago) could authorize a walkout, even though the local has statewide jurisdiction. This violated the democratic right of the majority of the local to determine whether to strike.

The PLP leaders sought to present themselves as supermilitant fighters and thus recruit to the PLP, regardless of the needs of the union ranks in the actual situation. The PLP put the narrow factional interests of their group above the need to defend the workers' jobs and preserve unionism at the Department of Labor. If the strike ended in defeat, the PLP evidently figured, they could always blame it on the inter-

national AFSCME leadership.

The PLP had earlier demonstrated their factional attitude toward the union during collective bargaining elections in which AFSCME won statewide bargaining rights for 30,000 clerical and professional employees. In the election among clerical employees, the PLP actively campaigned for the union's defeat. They feared that AFSCME's growth in Illinois would diminish PLP influence.

Now the PLP sought to use "their" strike to sabotage statewide collective bargaining. Blunting the focus on layoffs, the Local 1006 leaders raised a number of new strike demands on questions currently under negotiation by AFSCME statewide. And although Local 1006 was expected to elect representatives to the statewide negotiating committee, it never did so.

Predictably, the strike was a fiasco. Less than one-fourth of the agency employees were out at the high point. The proportion on strike rapidly dwindled to 5 percent, while the number of fired strikers climbed to 297. Offers to return to work with jobs intact were rejected by the strikers.

By this time, however, it was necessary to acknowledge that the strike had been defeated. Returning to work as a body was the only alternative that could hope to preserve unionism in the agency.

After trusteeship was imposed, administrator Kim Pittman was able to restore the jobs of 264 of the 297 fired strikers. The other 33, including some of the best union activists, now face civil service hearings. AFSCME is aiding their defense.

The role of the PLP in this strike has damaged the union, discredited union militancy in general, and made it easier for management to red-bait union activists. The Local 1006 leaders ought to be removed—not because they are radicals and oppose the international AFSCME leadership—but because of their undemocratic, irresponsible, and adventurist conduct. Being radicals and militants does not entitle anyone to sabotage the interests of the union ranks.

What is needed now in Local 1006 is a thorough discussion of the lessons of this disastrous strike, preparing the way for a democratic election of new officers by the local membership.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



'Illegal' garment workers

Widespread illegal exploitation of garment workers by factory bosses has been uncovered in California. State Labor Commission officials filed criminal charges against fifteen garment-industry companies. The charges primarily involved refusal to pay minimum wages, illegal manufacture of clothing in private homes, and failure to keep proper records of employee pay.

A representative of a coalition of garment-industry employers was quick to assert that those who do not abide by the law are a minority in the industry. The state labor commissioner replied, however, "We found that illegal homework in the garment industry is a widespread practice and it is rampant."

A law went into effect January 1 that forbids the manufacture of clothing in private homes without a license. Investigators found many apartments with sewing machines in living rooms, bedrooms, and garages. The advantages of this setup for extra-greedy employers are obvious. They can buy the finished product by the piece. That way the bosses take no responsibility for poor wages or working conditions.

The chief victims are immigrant workers from Mexico without visas. The labor commissioner estimated that of 73,800 persons employed by the 2,210 firms in the industry, nearly 65 percent are undocumented workers. In fact, it was a series of complaints from undocumented workers that prompted the labor commission to undertake an investigation of the illegal practices. Capitalists can get away with this racist superexploitation because the garment unions here are weak. Only a small portion of garment workers in Southern California are organized.

Some months ago, local Chicano officials of the

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union announced that they would undertake to organize undocumented workers. But the drive has not gotten very far. The responsibility for this must be laid at the doorstep of the national bureaucrats of the ILGWU. The central officials of this union, like most AFL-CIO bureaucrats, favor deporting "illegals" instead of organizing them.

They argue that undocumented workers, because of their pariah status in the United States, are impossible to organize. They repeat the false, racist charge that Mexicans take away jobs from Americans, and they yell for the Border Patrol to deport them.

This is a cover-up for a cynical refusal to organize garment workers. The self-defeating nature of this policy should be obvious. Joining in the racist attacks against Mexicans will only deepen the insecurity of their position. They will continue to be used as a reserve pool of cheap labor to drive down wages and break strikes. The idea that the immigration service is going to help a union organizing effort is laughable.

Past experience has shown that when these employer flunkies intervene in a strike, they deport the strike supporters without papers, not the people who cross the picket lines.

This is a self-defeating policy in any industry where there are undocumented workers. But where the overwhelming majority are without papers, anything less than a full commitment to their defense is fatal.

The only way the unions will be able to organize the garment industry in Los Angeles is to champion the cause of undocumented workers for full rights. Only when these workers see that the union is on their side can any organizing drive be successful.

The Boston Teachers Union has noted that only approximately twenty dollars of the proposed seventy-dollar tax increase, in fact, has anything to do with the school system's cost.

Rarely mentioned is the fact that any tax increase will fall most heavily on the city's Black and Puerto Rican homeowners and tenants (who face rent increases, regardless of their "ownership of property"). They and their children have paid the highest price imaginable for the segregated school system imposed on them for decades by the city government.

It will take a consistent educational campaign to bring these truths out—and to stave off any school department budget cuts directed at desegregation, which is the real thrust of the mayor's financial saber rattling.

Jon Hillson
Boston, Massachusetts

Renee Richards

Us hackers out here are interested in what *Militant* writers and readers think about the Renee Richards case.

Richards is a former nationally ranked male tennis player who underwent a sex-change operation. She entered one top women's tournament—the South Orange Open—but gained the enmity of the Women's Tennis Association, a players association to which many of the top women pros belong. The WTA argues that Richards, six foot two, is still a man athletically and possesses an advantage that women do not.

Richards and her supporters claim that she is legally a woman and, if she displays the ability, should be entitled to play in women's events.

K.N.
Chicago, Illinois

Attacks on Carter: low road

Let me say first that having subscribed to the *Militant* for four years, I do not question its overall integrity or veracity, or that of the Socialist Workers party. But I do have a bone to pick with you.

I am both perturbed and disillusioned with the intellectual quality of the presidential campaign of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. Unlike the 1972 Jenness-Pulley campaign, in 1976 the SWP national committee doesn't seem to think it can win enough votes for Camejo with a principled, objective program of socialist education.

Instead the SWP and the *Militant* are pursuing the low road of attacking Jimmy Carter's image of Christian sincerity. Inexplicably certain socialists don't feel they can win on the basis of the issues.

I believe that Peter Camejo, like Carter, is a fine and respectable gentleman. Camejo need not and should not attack Carter or Ford on a level other than ideological.

Finally, if the Socialist Workers party can't see its way clear to wage a "clean" campaign, unlike 1972 I'll vote for Carter rather than a socialist.

What a loss!
Roger Smith
McAllen, Texas

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Hold the sawdust—Responding to industry pleas, the Department of Agriculture proposes to redefine the word "meat" to include pure fat and a mixture of crushed bone and meat particles. Also fat would be rendered for separate sale, with the connecting tissues from the fat added to the newly defined "meat." The Health Research Group terms the proposal "turning garbage into money."

Not cross-rated—British church officials are mounting a campaign to block a Danish producer's plans to make a film there about the sex life of Jesus. Cardinal Basil Hume assailed the project as "sensational, pornographic and . . . entirely speculative."

Details—Los Angeles officials took issue with the menu at Penni's restaur-

rant. They said the "kosher" pastrami wasn't kosher, the "imported" Swiss cheese was domestic, the "Portuguese" sardines weren't from Portugal, and the "chicken" salad was made with turkey. Mr. Penni sounds like a major-party aspirant for public office.

Obviously a security risk—According to author Irving Wallace, J. Edgar Hoover and his buddy Clyde Tolson dined for years—on the house—at Harvey's restaurant in Washington. When a new manager asked them to pay, they never returned.

We've come a long way—Legislation is being enacted in California that will require that students prove they can read, write, and do simple arithmetic before receiving a high school diploma.



MacNelly

Women in Revolt

Carter & abortion

[The following guest column is by Ann Wilcox, a women's liberation activist and organizer of the Socialist Workers party Southeast branch in Washington, D.C.]

Irony placed two articles on abortion on the front page of the *Washington Post* on September 2. One was titled "D.C. Abortion Clinic Doctor Admits Negligence in Death." It quoted from affidavits of patients and nurses who attested to the filthy offices, carelessness, and high number of incomplete abortions performed by a Dr. Robert Sherman.

The affidavits were part of a \$3.5 million suit filed by the mother of a sixteen-year-old patient of Dr. Sherman who died of blood poisoning following an abortion. More than a dozen malpractice suits have been filed against the doctor since 1967. This is the first to come to trial.

The other article, "Carter: Abortion Amendment," quotes the Democratic hopeful following a private meeting with Catholic bishops in which Carter tried to placate them on the abortion issue. Carter said,

"I've never said I would actively oppose every possible constitutional amendment that was proposed on the subject of abortion."

The *Post* reporter pointed out that this contradicts the plank in the Democratic platform that says, "We feel that it is undesirable to attempt to amend the U.S. Constitution to overturn the Supreme Court decision permitting abortion."

Carter now says he believes this plank is an attempt to "deny people their right to amend the Constitution."

His real concern, of course, is over losing some of the anti-abortion vote if he is too closely linked to his party's plank. Carter sees abortion as a factor in his being elected—not as a question of the fundamental right of women to control our own bodies and our own lives.

"As far as abortion is concerned, the view in the Carter camp is that the less that is said about it the better off the candidate will be," the *Post* article concluded.

For the thousands and thousands of women who

fought so hard and so long for the right to legal and safe abortion, Carter is not the answer. Politicians like Carter with their own interests at heart kept abortion *illegal* for decades and forced women to go to backdoor butcher abortionists like Dr. Sherman in the first place.

Only a strong fight forced the legalization of abortion and began to put an end to those barbaric conditions. Only a continued fight to defend this right against attack can keep abortion legal and prevent more butchered abortions and blood-poisoning deaths.

And only a women's movement, united and independent from politicians like Carter, can win free abortion on demand—free of financial burdens and available to every woman, regardless of her age or marital status.

Peter Camejo's and Willie Mae Reid's campaign is the only one that comes out foursquare in support of abortion as a woman's right to choose. The Socialist Workers party is not afraid of the abortion issue—quite the contrary.

By Any Means Necessary

Taping, spying, and conniving

For a while there was the *click, humm* of tape recorders all the time.

"How do I go about joining the Black Student Union?" *Click, humm.* "The BSU should try to get the college to offer Black studies courses." *Click, humm.* "Black students also have to be part of struggles in the broader community." *Click, humm.*

Once-secret FBI documents show that a major program of the bureau during the late 1960s and early 1970s involved extensive monitoring of Black Student Unions. Information gathered through informers and illegal tape recordings of BSU meetings enabled the bureau to tailor counterintelligence programs for Black student activists and BSUs to attempt to strait-jacket the Black liberation movement.

Campus officials sometimes monitored in cooperation with the FBI or its goals.

"All the defendants first denied having done anything. Then they turned around and tried to justify what they did and then they turned around and took the Fifth Amendment," Robert Mundy was saying the other day in connection with a major suit by Black former students against campus spying.

"For about two-and-a-half years everybody took the Fifth Amendment, which is ironic when you think about who these people are. Cops in our country generally don't take the Fifth, although recently they're starting to."

Mundy is the Los Angeles attorney handling a million-dollar suit by former members of the Los Angeles Trade-Technical College BSU against the Los Angeles Community College District and others.

The suit charges illegal "electronic eavesdropping, invasion of privacy and the recording of constitutionally protected speech." Yours truly is a plaintiff.

At the time in 1971, I was Socialist Workers party nominee for school board and the BSU was a campaign supporter whose meetings I sometimes attended.

Local 1521 of the American Federation of Teachers is another plaintiff. As it turns out, the campus cops and administrators were bugging the classes of a psychology professor, Howard Burns. His union has entered the suit on his behalf.

Baxter Smith



The suit, which has been in the works for several years, has already prompted a California state legislative inquiry. It is slated to go to trial by March.

Mundy said that snooping was found to be the rule of thumb at community colleges, "Primarily directed at the BSUs. But not just at Trade-Tech. It was at Trade-Tech, it was at City [Los Angeles City College], it was at Southwest, it was at Pierce."

"My files alone are two full filing cabinets of four drawers each," he said, adding that he has "one full file drawer just of evidence."

Most of the defendants have admitted the bugging, which is illegal under California law. But, Mundy says, they're taking the position that the bugging was necessary because the college president's life was threatened by a Black student.

Several BSU members were expelled or suspended, and the administration constantly harassed the BSU.

"When you try to better yourself by getting a college education you find out that they've literally screwed up your entire life," said Elizabeth Martin, one of the original plaintiffs. "Dossiers, files, everything."

As schools open

Uneasy peace reigns in Boston



Students disembark as Boston schools open in tense standoff

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—For the past two years, since the beginning of court-ordered busing, the streets and schools of Boston have been the arenas of racist violence directed at Black students who have pioneered the desegregation of Boston's rigidly segregated school system.

This year, a tense calm prevailed as buses rolled into the South Boston, Charlestown, and Hyde Park schools, which have been the centers of white resistance to desegregation.

This calm does not mean the absence of war.

* * *

September 8 marks the opening of school in South Boston.

A smattering of Black students disembark from the buses.

There are no boisterous antibusing crowds, no teeming groups of media people straining for pictures. A handful of white students and South Boston parents appear harmless.

They spot Jerome Winegar, the new, thirty-eight-year-old headmaster of the school. They resent him. He is a member of the NAACP and the American Civil Liberties Union. The school remains under the control of Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity, the man who ordered desegregation. Win-

gar is the enemy. "Go home, Jerome," they shout.

Soon everyone is inside the school. A car drives by. It is packed with scowling young white men. Among them is Paul Shallmo, the burly leader of the South Boston High School "White Student Caucus." He has been suspended, expelled, and arrested several times for attacking Black students. He runs the "Shallmo Gang" inside the school. He leans out of the car as it slows down. "See you on Friday," he jibes at the reporters.

On Friday, Robert Walker is sucker-punched in the high school gymnasium. His white assailant escapes. It takes several stitches to close the gash above his eye.

* * *

Mars' Delicatessen, a little box of a store, backs up on Charlestown High School. On a red outside wall there is fresh graffiti.

"K.K.K."

The Black students amble off the buses. There are no crowds. But a group of about fifty white students looks menacing. They are boycotting the first day of school.

A police captain tells them to move. He does not like the job. "Come on, kids, let's just move away and not have any trouble," he says. He has his kid gloves on for the opening of school.

A chant breaks out as they move down the hill. "Pigs eat shit, pigs eat shit," the students shout.

They group along Bunker Hill Street. Quiet reigns for several minutes. A bottle is tossed. Then another, and quickly several more. The racists have been practicing: they hit two federal marshals with the missiles. They cheer.

The police move in, dispersing them, and the young racists bunch inside the courtyards of the projects that border the street.

Moments later, a hail of bricks and bottles flies at the cops and reporters as we scurry amid the falling debris. A school bus roars by. Inside, Black children, seven or eight years old, their eyes filled with fear, look out the windows.

* * *

The central "activist" spokesperson for the racists is James Kelly, South Boston's brass-knuckled bigot. As long as there is busing, he says, "there will be violence. There is more racial hatred than two years ago." Targets of violence, he says, will be random. "People will pick and choose," he

209

Camejo hits Ford, Carter on busing

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo opened his fall campaign here with a sharp attack on Jimmy Carter's and Gerald Ford's antibusing stands.

In a strong defense of court-ordered busing September 10, Camejo told a rally of campaign supporters, "We must demand full steam ahead on desegregation."

"We have no illusions that the peaceful opening of schools means the struggle is over," Camejo said. "Every Black student must be able to go to school in this city in safety, without fear."

On September 11 Camejo addressed a rally of more than 200 supporters of the proposed state constitutional equal rights amendment for women. The referendum, "Question 1," will appear on the fall ballot in Massachusetts. Camejo's urging of a united effort of all those who support the ERA was welcomed by the audience.

At a two-hour street rally in Harvard Square earlier that day, a constant crowd of more than 100 periodically interrupted Camejo's attacks on Ford and Carter with cheers as he called for passage of the federal ERA, urged support of school desegregation, and blasted American foreign policy in Africa.

Camejo's stand for a woman's right to abortion against the position of the Democrats and Republicans got the most support.

Camejo was joined on the speakers platform at the September 10 city-wide socialist rally by Carol Henderson Evans, the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in Massachusetts.

Evans hit Edward Kennedy's "mythical" support to desegregation. "There is not one word about busing in any of his campaign literature or advertisements," she said. Kennedy "has not spoken out against the violence of the antibusing mobs. He will not campaign in Boston, in order to avoid the issue of busing. Today he is even backing off from an inadequate position calling for an 'alternative to busing.'"

Also speaking at the rally was SWP congressional candidate James "Mac" Warren. Warren is running against Democrat Joseph Moakley in a gerrymandered district that includes South Boston and Roxbury.

"Moakley," said Warren, "has opponents in the Democratic primary who say he hasn't been antibusing enough. And Moakley responds, 'I'm the leader of antibusing forces in Congress.' That's who represents Roxbury. That's why I'm running against him, and the Democratic party he is a leader of."

Camejo was interviewed by the Boston *Herald-American*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and several radio stations.

He spoke to seventy supporters at a meeting in Providence, Rhode Island, sponsored by the Rhode Island Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. The meeting was reported in the *Providence Journal*, the *Brown Daily Herald*, and on a local television station. Camejo's entire tour was covered by a film crew from the Dutch national television network, which is preparing a special feature on the socialist campaign.

There is much confusion in the opening days of school. Black students are not picked up by buses. Classroom assignments are fouled up. There are debates between racists and school department officials over attendance.

The truth of the matter is that enrollment cannot be judged because of the staggering of opening days for different classes in high schools, along with special openings of newer schools. Still, it appears that attendance is high for both Black and white students.

These first three days have been like walking on eggshells. In the Black community there has been a cautious mood. *What will happen next?*

The answer to that question remains unresolved.

Detente and the death of Mao Tsetung

By Les Evans

[The following is from the News Analysis section of Intercontinental Press.]

The death of Mao Tsetung, though not unexpected, has stirred consternation in high places across the globe. In Peking, of course, he was the symbolic embodiment of his party's monolithic power. He permitted no figures of remotely equal stature to exist within his apparatus. This can only have bequeathed a certain uneasiness to his bureaucratic successors who will now try to fill his oversized shoes.

Beyond China's borders, Mao was the architect of China's role in the major realignment in world politics over the last half decade that goes by the name of détente. This shift from verbal denunciation of Western imperialism to alliance with it against the Soviet Union earned Mao the unfeigned gratitude of imperialist foreign offices and state departments from Tokyo to Washington and from Bonn to London. At the same time it shocked and disoriented thousands or even millions in the capitalist world who had looked to Peking for aid in their struggles for national liberation and socialism.

Mao liked to see himself portrayed as an intransigent communist revolutionary and champion of the toilers. In the cold war propaganda of the 1950s and early 1960s, Washington seemed to many to share this opinion. But by the time of his death the chieftains of imperialism eulogized Mao Tsetung almost as one of their own.

Ford praises Mao

Gerald Ford called Mao "a remarkable and very great man," adding that the chairman "had the vision and imagination to open up the doors to the United States." It was indeed Mao's Open Door policy that won the hearts and minds of his former foes.

Henry Kissinger praised him for

N.Y. forum

The Politics of Mao Tsetung: A Marxist View. Les Evans, member of the Socialist Workers party National Committee.

Thursday, September 30, 7:30 p.m. Eisner-Lubin Auditorium, Loeb Student Center, New York University, 566 LaGuardia Place at Washington Square South.

Admission \$1. Sponsored by Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers party.

having "created a durable relationship" between Peking and Washington, "based on mutual confidence and perception of common interests."

United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim in his tribute to Mao declared that he had led "an untiring search for the achievement of international understanding and world peace."

Prime Minister Takeo Miki of Japan sent a message of condolence avowing himself to be "shocked and grief stricken."

The principal fear in imperialist circles seemed to be not that Mao's policies would be continued after his death, but that they might be abandoned by his successors. James Reston, writing in the September 10 *New York Times*, the day after Mao's death, asked:

"Will Peking follow the line of the Shanghai Communiqué, cooperating with Washington? . . . Or—and this is the anxiety here—will new Chinese leaders try to put together the Sino-Soviet alliance and confront the free world with a solid Communist bloc in the Eurasian continent from Vladivostok to Berlin?"

Spokesmen for the capitalist "free world," despite undying enmity for the

social gains of the Chinese revolution, were quite willing to overlook Mao's autocratic rule over the Chinese masses and paint him up as a democrat of some kind. Daniel Southerland, writing in the September 10 *Christian Science Monitor* under the headline "Mao gave China self-respect," had this to say:

"Much more than Lenin had been, Mao was prepared to involve the ordinary people in the political process and bring them into action against the administrators and organization men in order to check abuses of authority."

It should not really be surprising that the pundits of the bourgeoisie should see something familiar and comfortable in Mao's "realistic" foreign policy and manipulated, top-down "democracy." Nor that they instinctively feel that Lenin's proletarian democracy and revolutionary internationalism are something different, something that they can never make their peace with.

Bureaucratic caste

Mao's collaboration with the capitalist powers of the world serves to define his place in history and to dispel his claims to represent a revolutionary or proletarian current. It was not an accidental turn but flowed from the petty-bourgeois social character of the bureaucratic caste in China that Mao represented, and was the goal of Chinese CP foreign policy from the day Mao Tsetung became party chairman in 1935.

The "opening to the West" that so upset many of Mao's supporters arose from no evolution on Mao's part but from the adoption of a more flexible tactical stance by American imperialism. Joseph Hansen, the editor of *Intercontinental Press*, pointed this out at the time of the first open step toward the new alignment back in 1968. Peking, at the height of the murderous American aggression in Vietnam, had sent a message to Nixon on November 26 offering "peaceful coexistence," the class-collaborationist policy perfected by Stalin. Hansen commented in the December 16, 1968, *IP*:

"It would seem that it would be of considerable mutual advantage to Peking and Moscow to close the breach and establish a common front against the common imperialist foe. Neither of the bureaucracies sees it that way, however, and each blames the other for the situation. Worst of all, in their rivalry each seeks an understanding with imperialism at the expense of the other. . . .

"If the démarche meets with a favorable response, there can be no doubt that the Mao regime would move further along this line with a readiness that might astound not a few observers."

Two and a half years later, with the announcement of Nixon's visit to Peking, Mao's opportunist course was unveiled for everyone to see. In assessing its meaning in the July 26, 1971, *Intercontinental Press*, Joseph Hansen summed up Mao's career and its final chapter. His words are worth recalling today as an obituary for Mao Tsetung:

Vietnam

" . . . why the change at this particular time? . . . The reason is quite clear. The Mao regime has indicated to Nixon that it is willing to help him in Vietnam. In short, Peking is in the business of betraying revolutions in the tradition of the master betrayer whom they hail as their guide and teacher—Stalin.

"The proofs could not be more palpable. Peking came out foursquare against the people of Bangla Desh who rose almost unanimously against the dictatorship of Yahya Khan. Peking supplied arms and money to the dictator to crush the rebellion; and openly denounced the people of Bangla



Mao greets Nixon in Peking, February 1972. Communist party chief helped Washington buy time in Vietnam.

Desh for striking out for their freedom.

"Peking followed precisely the same course in the case of the rebellion in Ceylon. Chou himself went to the most brazen lengths to associate Peking with the Bandaranaike regime and against the rebels. He put money on the line in the form of a most generous loan; he offered arms to be used against the rebels; and he denounced the rebels.

"Not even Nixon could misunderstand that language—if he had not completely grasped the meaning of Mao's consistent policy over the years of seeking alliances with 'progressive' sectors of the colonial bourgeoisie, a policy that helped pave the way in Indonesia for the debacle of 1965 and the slaughter of as many as a million Indonesian Communists. . . .

"Those most stunned by the current diplomacy of the Mao regime are the currents in the left that have been favorably disposed toward Maoism. The ultraleft posture of the Mao regime was mistakenly interpreted by them to be genuinely revolutionary. They were taken in by the willingness of Peking to offer training to prospective guerrillas and to supply them with small arms in certain countries. The ultraleft language of 'Mao Tsetung Thought' bolstered this false interpretation. . . .

"One of the most ironic aspects of Mao's decision to make a deal with U.S. imperialism is that this was one of the main charges leveled against his opponents in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Mao is now doing precisely what he accused Liu Shao-chi of wanting to do.

"To find a parallel it is necessary to go back to the Soviet Union of the thirties, when Stalin butchered a

generation of revolutionists and potential political opponents on frame-up charges of plotting to make a deal with German imperialism, only to end up making a pact with Hitler himself.

Oppose world revolution

"Like Stalin, Mao represents a bureaucratic caste. This formation in China is not identical in all its features to the one in the Soviet Union, but it is basically similar. Its chief characteristic is that it places its own narrow, nationalistic interests above the interests of the world revolution, including the interests of the Chinese revolution.

"This was not seen by many analysts, primarily because of the persistence with which U.S. imperialism rejected dealing even with this conservative caste. Washington's refusal to recognize China helped maintain the revolutionary aura of the Mao regime.

"The Peking government undertook defensive measures that sometimes had revolutionary consequences, outstanding examples being the military defense of China at the time of the Korean war and the accompanying expropriation of capitalist holdings within China.

"It was notable, however, that at home Mao sedulously blocked and rooted out any tendency toward proletarian democracy; while abroad he relied in the main on alliances with the treacherous colonial bourgeoisie. . . .

"This course was in conformity with the nature of the social formation represented by Mao.

"The veneer of ultraleftism was not in contradiction to this; it constituted a necessary part under the circumstances."

Continued on page 30

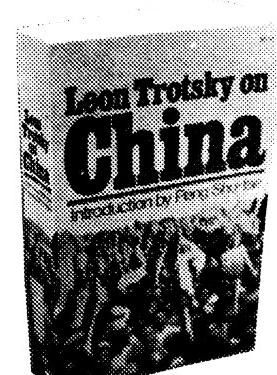
Books on China

Leon Trotsky on China
By Leon Trotsky. 688 pp. \$6.95

Revolutionaries in Mao's Prisons
The case of the Chinese Trotskyists
By Li Fu-jen and Peng Shu-tse \$5.00

The Chinese Revolution
By Peng Shu-tse and Chen Pi-lan
In three parts. \$85 each.

The Chinese Revolution and Its Development
Socialist Workers party documents.
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Order from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Right-wing pressure mounts

Carter and Ford join anti-abortion drive

By Ginny Hildebrand

When the opening shots were fired in the Ford-Carter battle for the White House, the Catholic church hierarchy decided to open its own barrage. Its ammunition? The abortion issue.

Carter made an easy target. He's been doing a balancing act on the fence for a long time: appealing to women's rights supporters by saying he opposes constitutional amendments that would prohibit abortion or turn the decision back to each state; appealing to the anti-abortion vote by emphasizing his personal opposition to abortion.

His strategy began to backfire at his August 31 meeting with the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. The bishops said they were "disappointed" with Carter's position. On September 10 Ford met with the same group of bishops. They were "encouraged" by his call for an amendment granting states the right to force women to bear unwanted children. "States' rights" to enforce another form of slavery, of course, was the banner under which the Confederacy fought the Civil War.

Since Carter's meeting, anti-abortion demonstrators have confronted him in New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Arizona.

Pro-Carter journalists have thrown themselves into the fray in hopes of separating out the issues in Carter's favor.

For example, in the September 10 *New York Times*, columnist Tom Wicker called Carter's position "sound in concept and consonant with democracy, since it coerces no one." He added that the issue "gives Mr. Carter opportunity . . . to show that he will stand by a strongly held view even under the most difficult pressures of a political campaign."

But is Carter's view "consonant with democracy"? Has he stood up to the right-wing pressures? We can see the



Anti-abortion demonstrators in New York City. Carter is listening to their anti-women's rights message.

answers to these questions by looking at a series of statements he has made since August 31.

Carter's real position

• At a news conference in New York just hours after his meeting with the bishops, Carter was asked, "Do you think the woman ought to have a constitutional right to make up her mind on the subject?" Carter answered, "Under any circumstances? No, not under all circumstances."

When would he support abortion? "In the first twenty weeks [of pregnancy] if a pregnancy was the result of rape, *if the rapist had been convicted*," he said (emphasis added). That's the old Georgia anti-abortion law.

• Carter also explained his view of a constitutional amendment: "I've never said I would actively oppose every possible amendment that was proposed on the subject of abortion." In fact, *Time* magazine reported that Carter had asked the bishops if they were considering any constitutional amendments other than the one guaranteeing full legal rights to fetuses in order to block abortions.

• Carter told the news conference that he opposes an amendment that would allow states to set the laws because, "It means the wealthier women can travel from one state to another and have abortions legally. The poor ones cannot."

• However, less than two weeks later he said, "I don't think we ought to tax people like myself who feel very strongly against abortions, to finance abortions through the federal government." What happened to his concern for poor women who can only get abortions with these funds?

Anti-abortion candidate

There can be no doubt about it. Carter is an anti-abortion candidate. Like Ford, he has never accepted abortion as a woman's right to choose. And support for this right—regardless of personal beliefs—is the only position "consonant with democracy."

What about the Democratic party platform? It says:

"We fully recognize the religious and ethical nature of the concerns which many Americans have on the subject of abortion. We feel, however, that it is undesirable to attempt to amend the U.S. Constitution to overturn the Supreme Court decision in this area."

The Democratic party bosses included an abortion plank as a concession to the women's liberation movement. But, it was worded to avoid alienating opponents of women's rights. This was done by side-stepping the key issue: abortion as a woman's right that must be protected by the Constitution.

Without taking this clear, simple stand, the party and its candidates can easily slither into supporting a wide range of restrictive abortion measures. Cutting off Medicaid funds, for example. Even backing an anti-abortion amendment isn't ruled out. After all,

the platform only says that it is "undesirable" to amend the Constitution. Couldn't it become *desirable* if political winds shift?

Against the majority

Carter and Ford's positions stand in opposition to the majority view of Americans. A January 1976 Knight-Ridder newspaper survey showed that 76 percent of Catholics and 81 percent of the overall adult population agree that abortion is a matter between a woman and her doctor. A *New York Times* and CBS News poll taken this month shows 56 percent of adults opposing a constitutional amendment restricting abortion.

Despite this overwhelming senti-

ment, it is no surprise that abortion is still a major political issue.

The reactionary forces never accepted the defeat dealt them by the Supreme Court's 1973 ruling legalizing abortion.

For three years they've been preaching, lobbying, and marching in the tens of thousands to roll back this decision. They've targeted this election to gain publicity and legitimacy for their reactionary drive, which is closely linked to moves to prevent ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and to reverse school desegregation. They even ran a forced-motherhood candidate, Ellen McCormack, in several Democratic party primaries.

Continued on page 30

Socialists say: 'We represent majority'

[Following are excerpts from a statement issued by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president.]

Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford's recent statements on abortion bolster the reactionary campaign against women's right to safe, legal abortions. Both candidates are emboldening a movement that seeks to overturn the historic Supreme Court ruling legalizing abortion.

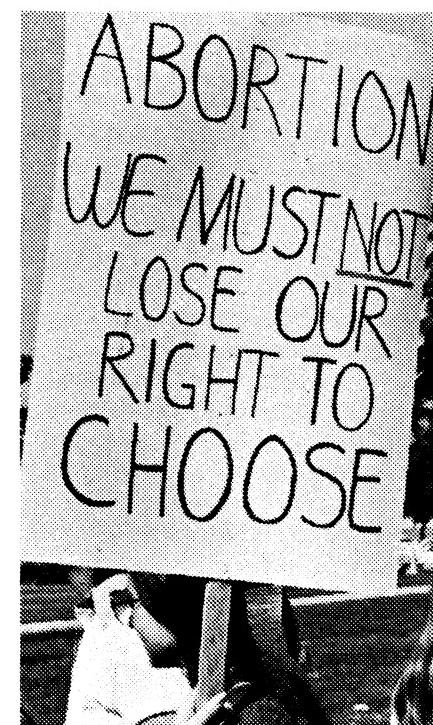
The forces who stand in the front lines of anti-abortion demonstrations are often the same right-wingers who stone Black students riding buses to desegregate schools and blame the unions for capitalism's economic crisis.

In calling for a constitutional amendment returning to states the power to force women to bear unwanted children, Ford raises the cry of "states' rights." This was the same demagogic used to deny Blacks constitutional rights and protections in the Jim Crow South.

Carter says he does not favor any of the current proposals for a constitutional amendment, but has invited the forced-motherhood advocates to discuss alternative constitutional amendments with him.

Meanwhile, both Carter and Ford strongly agree on one immediate move against women: Medicaid funds for abortions should be shut off. This would effectively deny medically safe abortions to tens of thousands of women every year. It would go a long way toward achieving the goals of the anti-abortion forces. Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano women would be most severely victimized.

These candidates of the so-called majority parties clearly represent a



minority point of view on abortion. On this issue, like many others, the Socialist Workers party represents the majority. The Democratic and Republican parties have closed ranks throughout the campaign to hide this fact from voters. That is why we are excluded from the televised debates being sponsored by the League of Women Voters.

Throughout the fall, we will campaign on the side of women's right to abortion. We will be with the National Organization for Women and other abortion rights advocates when they peacefully protest at the first Carter-Ford debate in Philadelphia. And we will urge our supporters to continue to join in actions to counter the anti-abortion offensive directed by the Catholic church hierarchy and cynically embraced by Ford and Carter.

NOW calls protest action

The National Organization for Women (NOW) is urging supporters of women's right to abortion to make their views known. NOW has called a demonstration in Philadelphia for September 23, the evening of the first televised debate between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter.

NOW's national office told the *Militant* that its chapters in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey are being urged to bring women's rights supporters to the action. Demonstrators will assemble at 7:30 p.m. at Independence Hall for a candlelight march to the Walnut Street Theater, the site of the debate. There they will form a picket line.

In a press release responding to the Catholic church hierarchy, NOW President Karen DeCrow stated, "This is a war against American women, a brutal attack against our safety. Women have always had abortions. Women will continue to have abortions. And the issue is only whether they will be safe and inexpensive or dangerous, illegal, and costly." NOW leader Jeanne K.C. Clarke added that Ford and Carter "must not bow to the bishops."

Among those supporting the September 23 protest are Catholics for a Free Choice and the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL). For more information call Philadelphia NOW at (215) 561-7185.

Abel ducks issues in steel, pushes Carter campaign

By Andy Rose

LAS VEGAS, Nev.—Two election campaigns dominated the proceedings at the United Steelworkers convention here.

First, the union officaldom's drive to crush the movement for union democracy led by Ed Sadlowski.

Second, the mobilization of the union's resources behind the Democratic party presidential campaign.

Electing Carter and Mondale, "along with a solidly Democratic Congress, will restore health to the economy, bring respect and decency to government institutions, reassert human values in foreign policy, and restore justice and equality under the law," according to the convention resolution on the 1976 elections.

It was assumed that the delegates didn't know or don't care about Carter's defense of open-shop "right to work" laws, his opposition to higher government spending for jobs and social services, his antibusing and anti-abortion stands, or his pledge to big business not to raise corporate taxes.

The address of vice-presidential candidate Walter Mondale was supposed to be a high point of the convention. Mondale talked about how he was old friends with "Abe"—union President I.W. Abel.

Mondale—like everyone else who talked about the campaign—stuck to attacking President Ford's record. Specifics about what a Carter administration would do were few and far between.

"We are not proposing any radical changes for America," Mondale said.

Promises of jobs

The one big promise, of course, was jobs. Jobs for all through the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill.

U.S. Rep. Augustus Hawkins, one of the bill's originators, addressed the steel convention. He neglected to explain that all provisions for actually creating jobs have been removed from the bill.

There was no opposition to endorsing Carter. There was no sign of discontent with the union's long-standing policy of reliance on the Democrats.

It seemed to this reporter, though, that the Carter campaign aroused surprisingly little enthusiasm. Sure, the band played and everybody applauded on cue for Mondale. But the cheers were more routine than rousing.

There seemed to be an unstated sentiment something like this: "Of course we have to defeat Ford. Of course we have to elect Carter. But we've heard these promises before, and everybody knows it doesn't mean much."

Abel himself implied—unintentionally no doubt—that the union doesn't really expect Carter to provide jobs for all. Abel announced with great fanfare a new collective bargaining goal: "steady work and wages fifty-two weeks a year!" Also known as the "guaranteed annual wage."

Ironically, this is the same gimmick promised by former union President David McDonald in 1964 when he was trying to defend his presidency against Abel's challenge.

McDonald called it "total job security." He never explained how it would be brought about. Neither does Abel.

True, the proposal for a thirty-hour workweek at forty hours' pay is buried in one of the convention resolutions, along with many other laudable demands. But Abel talked more about shortening the work year—that is, bargaining for a few extra holidays or longer vacations.

This is not going to bring back the 100,000 steelworkers' jobs lost in the past two decades. Nor will it stop job erosion in the future.

This convention was far removed—in locale and program—from the union membership. But a few times during the discussion, one could catch a glimpse of the life and death problems facing those members back in the steel mills, fabricating plants, and mines.

Delegates appealed for the union to do something about the pileup of grievances.

To do something about the scheduling of overtime for some workers while other members are still laid off.

To do something about the killing and crippling of thousands of steelworkers by industrial diseases.

These appeals were shrugged off by Abel.

Civil rights

Discrimination against Black and women workers also received scant attention here. The civil rights resolution adopted was largely devoted to attacking "hare-brained schemes" that would modify seniority systems to end discriminatory layoffs.

"Integrated quality education" was mentioned as a union goal, but there was not one word about busing.

Appointment at this convention of a Black vice-president was an important concession to demands for minority representation, even though the appointment was made as a political maneuver to attract Black votes in the coming union elections.

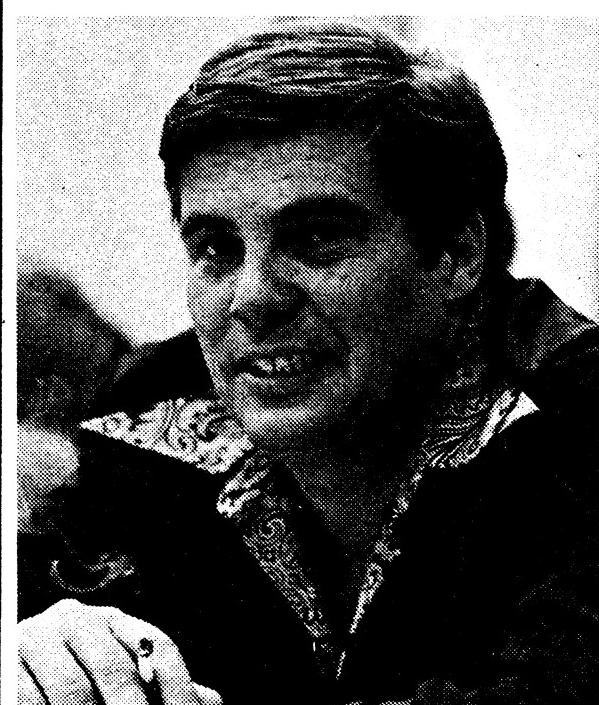
Leon Lynch, a staff representative from Memphis, will be the first Black person in the union's history to sit on the international executive board.

Joe Romano, a pro-Sadlowski delegate from Local 5271 in District 31, said the step "has been a long time coming and we should all greet and applaud it." But, he added, action is still needed to bring about representation of Chicanos and women in the top leadership.

A strong resolution on women's rights was adopted. It urges "our members located in those states which have not yet ratified the Equal Rights Amendment to continue their efforts to have their state legislators do so immediately."

One other good resolution was a strongly worded

Sadlowski in race



Militant/Harry Ring

CHICAGO—Insurgent union leader Ed Sadlowski officially announced his candidacy for president of the United Steelworkers at a news conference here September 13. Two hundred steelworkers and reporters packed the Local 65 headquarters in South Chicago to hear the announcement.

Sadlowski was interrupted frequently by cheers and applause as he explained why he is running. "Our brothers and sisters in the shops, mines, and mills are fed up with 'business as usual' unionism," he said. They are fed up with "a union leadership which they feel is distant and remote, a necessary evil which eats up too much of their money and has no interest in their welfare."

Sadlowski said he will campaign for union democracy, the right of the members to vote on contracts, a shorter workweek to provide jobs for the unemployed, and greater health and safety protection.

The election will be held next February by referendum vote of the union's 1.4 million members. Sadlowski's opponent is Lloyd McBride, District 34 director, the bureaucracy's choice to succeed retiring President I.W. Abel.

Sadlowski defeated the Abel machine's candidate in 1974 to become director of District 31, covering the Chicago-Gary region.

statement of support to the United Farm Workers. It endorses Proposition 14, the UFW-sponsored ballot initiative for farm labor elections in California.

It further calls for "moral, financial and other assistance to the cause of the United Farm Workers Union, including the formation of support committees on the local union level . . ."

Little can be expected from the Abel leadership in implementing these resolutions on the farm workers and the ERA. But both can provide ammunition for local activists seeking to involve their unions in actions on these important social issues.

Steelworkers appeal: 'Our people are dying'

By Andy Rose

LAS VEGAS, Nev.—The issue of health and safety aroused one of the most impassioned discussions at the United Steelworkers convention.

Many delegates—including those who generally support the Abel leadership—took the floor to plead for stronger union action against the horrors of industrial disease.

Coke-oven workers, one delegate said, get no more consideration than the animals used in medical research.

"What happens to the rats and mice they experiment on?" he asked. "They die of cancer. And that's what we're doing."

"We heard our great president up there tell us about working conditions," said Joseph Manzo from Local 2610. "But I don't think people in the coke ovens have seen better working conditions. We're at the same position that we were twenty years ago. Our coke-oven people are dying down there, and we have to help these people."

"I work in a sintering plant," said

another delegate, 'the only place in the world when it's raining you're in mud up to your rear end and the dust is putting your eyes out.'

"These federal [safety] inspectors, when they come into these plants they



act like they're afraid of management. You try to help them, try to take a sample of the air to them out of a respirator pad. They treat you like you're a thief!"

"I told them, if I'm a thief in bringing you this, then I feel like Bethlehem Steel should take that out of my lungs and keep it, because I don't want it either."

Paul Kaczocha and Mike Olszanski, both pro-Sadlowski delegates from District 31, said that the union needed the right to strike over safety and health conditions.

"In this life and death matter," Olszanski said, "we can't afford to wait for OSHA [Occupational Safety and Health Administration] or the Environmental Protection Agency to force compliance with the law on the steel companies."

"U.S. Steel and Inland have succeeded in getting one extension after another for over ten years in our area. Emissions of cancer-causing agents in

many areas are worse today than ten years ago.

"Only through collective bargaining, backed up by an industry-wide right to strike, can we secure abatement of the pollution which is killing so many of us, our neighbors, and our families."

Abel's response was sarcastic. "It's amazing," he said, "how many of our problems now hinge on that right to strike since we have ENA." ENA is the no-strike agreement in the basic steel industry.

"All these years we had that right to strike," Abel said, "and I don't know why the hell we didn't take care of these problems when we had that great weapon."

But the answer to that is simple. Abel and the other union bureaucrats who signed away the right to strike were never interested in putting up a serious fight for health and safety of steelworkers.

That's a strong argument for booting them out now and electing a new leadership in the steelworkers union.

The Humphrey-Hawkins fraud

Labor vote for Carter will not bring jobs

By Dick Roberts

The AFL-CIO's political machinery is going all-out for Jimmy Carter. Unions are pouring millions of dollars into the Democratic party and into their own "Vote Carter" advertising campaigns.

What good does all of this do for workers?

The pitch of the labor officials is that the Republicans brought on the highest unemployment levels since the Great Depression. The Democrats will provide jobs.

The Humphrey-Hawkins bill, which Carter endorses, is advertised as guaranteeing jobs for all those who want to work. Carter has said that unemployment is the number-one problem in America.

These Carter backers carefully ignore the fact that since the Democratic party convention, Carter's verbal commitments to combating unemployment have been shrinking day by day.

Just like Ford, Carter is more and more saying that "inflation—not jobs—is the number-one problem."

In Plains, Georgia, September 3, Carter told a press conference, "There will be no [jobs] programs implemented under my administration unless we can be sure that the cost of those programs is compatible with my goal of having a balanced budget before the end of that term."

Balancing the budget in order to lower inflation is precisely the line that the White House uses to justify vetoes of jobs.

Carter told *U.S. News & World Report*: "I don't favor Government jobs as the principal way to alleviate the unemployment question. They cost too much at \$8,000 to \$10,000 per job."

Carter was interviewed by *Business*

overnment will provide jobs.

Even in its original, strongest form, the Humphrey-Hawkins bill did not allocate one penny of federal funds for public works programs to provide jobs for the unemployed.

Rather, it said that the government should—through its taxing and monetary policies—stimulate the *private* economy to reduce unemployment. That is precisely what has proved impossible over the years.

The bill *never* called for genuine full employment. It originally specified 3 percent unemployment as "full employment"—a goal to be achieved within eighteen months. Now the figure is 3 percent overall *adult* unemployment. This means the bill accepts far higher figures for youth, as well as Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women. And the target date has apparently been pushed back to four years after adoption of the bill.

The original version would have supposedly established the legal right to a job. That is, you could—at least in theory— sue the government if it failed to make work available. That provision was one of the first to be scuttled.

The bill has been in congressional committees all summer, where it is being further weakened. The latest version reportedly specifies that *no* new public jobs are to be created until at least two years after adoption. It severely restricts eligibility for any such jobs, and drops an earlier requirement that "prevailing wages" be paid.

Carter refused to endorse the bill until it was weakened along these lines.

He told *Business Week* May 3, "I didn't approve of it the way it was originally written. With a mandatory total unemployment goal of 3%, taking in all age groups, most of my economic advisers thought that would mean double-digit inflation."

The final bill has yet to emerge from committees, but it is clear enough what is happening to it.

Business Week reported June 14, "Two key Senate committees, under powerful Democratic chairmen, are moving to dilute the bill to a point where it would be little more than a generalized commitment to full employment."

Unemployment

The behind-the-scenes watering down of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill and Carter's mealy-mouthed stand on unemployment correspond to a process that should be of the utmost concern to working people.

This is the attempt of the American ruling class to make higher and higher unemployment rates "acceptable" to workers.

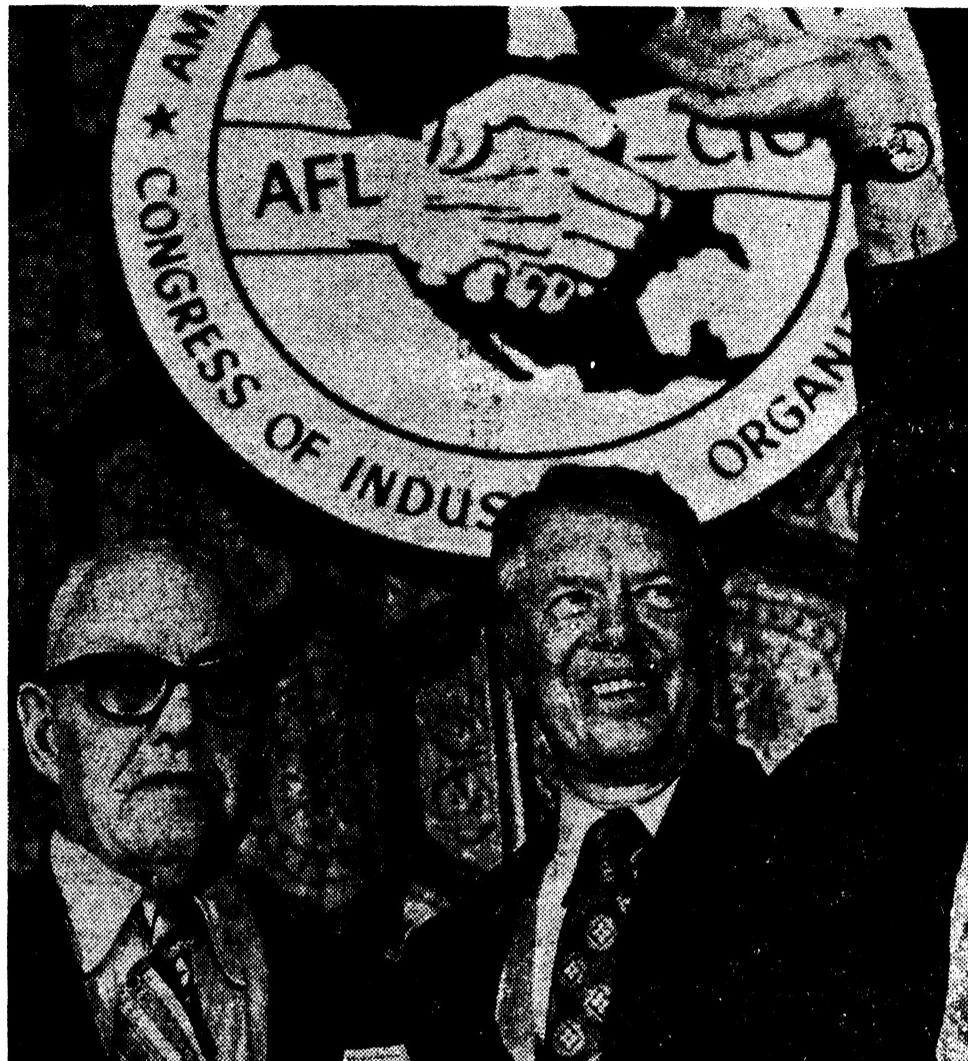
With production and profits rising, unemployment levels remain higher than at the worst points of earlier postwar recessions. Unemployment today is *rising!* The official rate in August stood at 7.9 percent, a jump from 7.8 percent in July and 7.3 percent in May.

Indicative of the big-business campaign to sell these high unemployment levels is an article in the September issue of *Fortune*.

"The only sure way to roll back inflation is to maintain adequate slack in the labor market," *Fortune* summarizes. "There is a 'natural' rate of unemployment, below which inflation starts accelerating. Economists used to think this rate was 4 percent. But it now appears that the natural rate . . . has gradually risen to between 5.5 and 6 percent in the last few years. . . .

"Ambitious government efforts to get unemployment down rapidly could rekindle double-digit inflation."

When Carter tells *Business Week* that he opposed the "mandatory unem-



Meany announces AFL-CIO Carter endorsement

ployment goal" of the original Humphrey-Hawkins bill because it "would mean double-digit inflation," the Democratic presidential aspirant is talking exactly the same language as *Fortune* and the owners of American business.

The rulers of this country believe that they must enforce higher unemployment levels on American workers in order to make U.S. industry more profitable in world competition. This perspective is shared by Carter and the Democratic party.

Congressional con game

The Democrats pretend that they favor creating jobs and that it is solely because President Ford has vetoed Democratic-sponsored legislation that unemployment levels are so high.

As proof they say that Democratic President Franklin Roosevelt pulled the country out of depression in the 1930s and Democrat John Kennedy ended the "Eisenhower recessions."

As to the Ford vetoes, this is a con game. It's an election year. Democratic liberals sponsor laws that Ford then vetoes. A close look at any of these laws would show that they are completely inadequate to provide the needed jobs.

But these liberals also do not point out that the Democrats hold a "veto-proof" majority in Congress. If the Democrats were truly concerned with passing bills to provide jobs, they could have done so. Instead they are playing election-year games.

The myths about Roosevelt and Kennedy rely on the assumption that people forget what really happened.

It was World War II that brought unemployment down from the depression levels, and it was the Vietnam War that propelled the economic upswing and low unemployment levels of the late 1960s.

Wars—not the Democratic party—brought the lowest unemployment levels in the United States in the past four decades.

The Democrats were in the White House when these wars started. That includes World War II, Vietnam, and Korea. As Americans became sickened by the Korean War and then the Vietnam War they threw the

Democrats—Truman and Johnson—out.

Republicans were consequently presidents in the postwar periods, as the capitalist economy returned to its "normal" condition of high unemployment.

And it is certain, whichever capitalist party is returned to office this November, that Americans will continue to be beset with the intolerable conditions of unemployment endemic to "peacetime" capitalism.

Wall Street on Carter

Will a victory for Democrat Jimmy Carter help or hurt the stock market? That's the question the financial newsmagazine *Barron's* put to Barton Biggs, managing director of the Wall Street investment banking house of Morgan Stanley & Co.

"Starting in 1932," said Biggs, "we've had 35 years of government getting more involved in the economy. Now we're in the process of reversing that process. And it's easier for a Democratic President to lead that reversal than it would be for a Republican."

"The comparison I make is with Nixon and China and detente with Russia. It would have been almost impossible for a liberal Democratic President to lead us into a resumption of relations with China. You had to have a President with impeccable credentials as a hard-line anti-Communist."

"In the same way, I think it will be easier for a Democratic President to lead us toward more conservative fiscal and monetary policies. And basically, that's bullish [good for the stock market]."

Asked about the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, banker Biggs replied, "You know, Carter says he's in favor of the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill as long as it's consistent with bringing inflation down to 3%. Hell, I'm in favor of Humphrey-Hawkins on that basis, too. Who wouldn't be?"

Week for the second time this year. "In a major switch," the magazine said September 20, Carter "is now equating the fight against unemployment with the fight against inflation, instead of targeting unemployment as the No. 1 problem in the U.S."

Carter assured *Business Week*, "I've never been a big spender."

Humphrey-Hawkins bill

The Humphrey-Hawkins bill is the only tangible promise that the union officials can hold up as a reason to vote for Carter. But to do this, they have to falsify the real content of the bill.

This deceptive legislation was never aimed at providing jobs. It is aimed at making it appear as though the go-

Seattle nurses' strike enters tenth week

By Toby Emmerich
and Bud Barricklow

SEATTLE—As a nurses' strike at fifteen area hospitals enters its tenth week, morale among members of the Washington State Nurses Association (WSNA) is high.

For the 1,800 nurses whose contract expired July 1, the strike, which began July 12, raises vital issues. Their major demands concern staffing decisions, agency shops, and wages.

The nurses want to advise management on staffing and working conditions, which affect the quality of patient care. They want agency shops, requiring nurses who don't belong to the association to pay a fee for services provided by the WSNA. To counter the effects of inflation, nurses are demanding a 25 percent pay raise over a three-year period and an escalator clause.

The Seattle Area Hospital Council, which negotiates for the eighteen Seattle-area hospitals covered by the contract, has shown callous disregard for nurses and patients. The council

waited two weeks after the strike began to make a first contract offer. Its most recent offer is for an 8 percent wage increase during the first year.

When the hospital council offered to begin paying this increase immediately to the nurses in the three hospitals not being struck, these nurses declared that they would donate the increase to the strike fund.

At times during the strike the council has refused to negotiate with the nurses. High morale among nurses results in a large part from the support they've received from unions and community residents. On September 2, 1,000 people rallied with the nurses at Swedish Hospital and marched to three other hospitals affected by the walkout.

Helping to organize the demonstration were officials and members of the Washington State Labor Council, Teamsters, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Firefighters, Retail Clerks, and Boilmakers.

Pam Knowles, a negotiator for the nurses, told the press that the rally "shows the hospitals that their methods and tactics in strikebreaking and lack of negotiations are totally unacceptable to the labor community and the entire community as a whole. The support shown us by labor unions is fantastic and is to the nurses a real boost."

The nurses have also drawn support from the Washington Education Association and Local 900 of the New Economic Council of the Retail Clerks International Association. Local 900 has been organizing technical hospital personnel in the area.

Pam Knowles told the *Militant* that many nonstriking hospital staff members are wearing blue armbands to show visible solidarity with the strikers. Picketers are encouraged when they see ambulance drivers donning the blue strips and when they see streamers flying from the ambulances.

The Licensed Practical Nurses Association, not on strike, has informed its members not to do any work they don't ordinarily do and not to change their vacation schedules.

Most of the struck hospitals have had to cancel all elective surgery. Supervisory registered nurses and doctors are being used to do the jobs of the striking nurses. This means twelve-hour shifts daily for the supervisory nurses.

This first nurses' strike in Washington history is becoming one of the longest medical walkouts in history. To crush it, the hospital council is advertising for scabs. It is also trying to turn public opinion against the nurses by blaming the strike on them and counterposing the needs of the patients to those of the nurses.

But as the September 2 rally showed, the nurses have gained a lot of support. The hospital council has returned to the negotiating table, and the nurses hope that a settlement is in sight.

J.P. Stevens workers launch nat'l boycott

By Michael Pennock

ROANOKE RAPIDS, N.C.—"Organize the Unorganized! Activate the Unionized!" read the banner.

Under it met 1,500 J.P. Stevens textile workers and their supporters.

They marched and rallied in this North Carolina mill town on September 5, the Sunday before Labor Day. Their demand was clear:

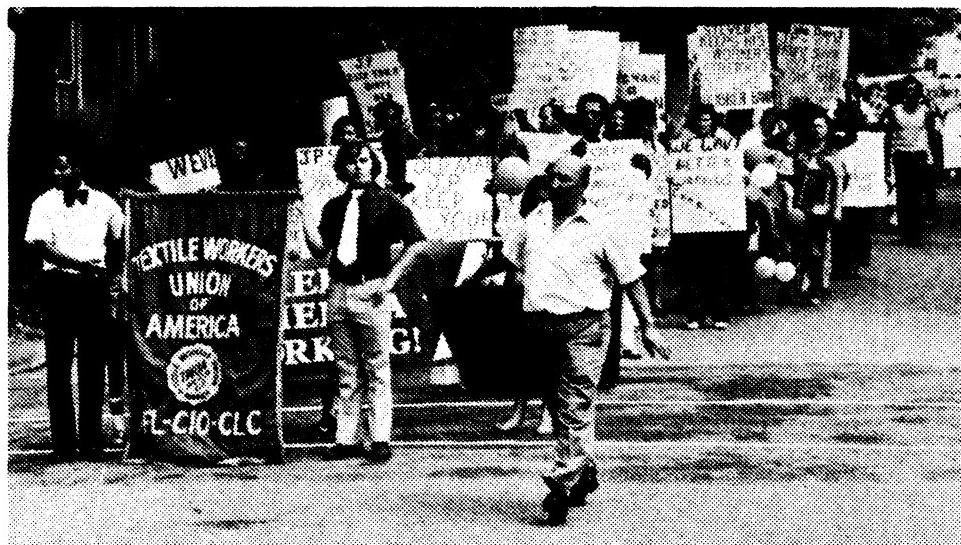
"What time is it?"
"UNION TIME!"
"What do we want?"
"A CONTRACT!"
"When do we want it?"
"NOW!"

Two years ago these workers voted to be represented by the Textile Workers Union (now the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union).

Since then, Stevens management has persistently refused to "bargain in good faith," as required by law. Stevens has broken the law so many times that it has been labeled by the union movement as "the number one labor law violater in the United States."

Stevens has fired 289 workers for being active union members.

This rally marked the opening of a national boycott of J.P. Stevens products. The union hopes to force a



J.P. Stevens workers have been trying to get a contract for two years

contract from Stevens the same way they defeated Farah Manufacturing Company in 1974.

The boycott will be tough. Farah slacks had a Farah label. Stevens products are sold under dozens of different brand names.

The courts have ordered Stevens to pay \$1.3 million in back wages for its labor law violations. Yet Stevens finds

it cheaper to break the law than to allow unionization. A talk with two Stevens workers shows why.

"I started here seven years ago," said Willie Williams. "I made \$2.35 then. I'm making \$3.77 now. And that's after we just got a raise."

Clara Williams is a production worker, paid on piece rate. She has been in the plant a full decade. "I

figure that my hourly rate is something like \$3.60," she said.

Twenty-four months after bargaining began, the union is still demanding a grievance procedure, a seniority system, union dues checkoff, and a workday and workweek spelled out in the contract. Stevens still refuses these demands.

The company is offering: no wage increase; no vacation increase; no increase in holiday pay; unspecified improvements in insurance; and one extra paid holiday.

It is a tribute to the Roanoke Rapids workers that after two years their spirits remain so high. Fellow unionists came from eleven states to support them.

"All of us must stick together," said Bunyon Thomas, an in-plant organizer from Montgomery, Alabama. "Remember, we all have the same enemy, J.P. Stevens."

Alice Tanner of the Roanoke Rapids organizing committee closed the rally on a note of unity.

"There's not a white union or a Black union," she said, "but a union of the people. We're all out for better pay, hours, and conditions. And we've got to work together and stick together."

Raleigh marchers demand: 'Free N.C. prisoners!'

By Sarah Ryan

RALEIGH, N.C.—More than 2,000 demonstrators marched through the streets of Raleigh September 6 in the National March for Human Rights. The action was sponsored by the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression (NAARPR). More than half the marchers were Black.

The central demand of the march was "Free the Wilmington Ten and the Charlotte Three!" Both cases involve crude frame-ups of young activists in the fight for Black rights in North Carolina.

The demonstrators also called for an end to the death penalty and for support to the J.P. Stevens textile workers.

Protesters in the Labor Day march came from as far away as Miami, Detroit, and New York. Many were from cities in North Carolina. "If they can free Nixon, they can free the Wilmington Ten," they chanted as the rally began near the state capitol.

Rev. Ben Chavis, the most prominent of the Wilmington Ten defend-

ants, sent a statement to the rally. Chavis is currently serving a thirty-four-year prison sentence for convictions of arson and conspiracy. The charges stemmed from his involvement in a Black community struggle for equal education in Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1971.

"Whether in Raleigh or Wilmington, North Carolina, or whether in Johannesburg, or Soweto, South Africa, the denials of human rights and labor rights must be confronted by the organized power of the people," Chavis's message said.

Anne Braden, of the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice and longtime activist in the civil rights movement, appealed for action by white supporters of Black rights.

Many speakers focused on the racist policies of North Carolina. The state has the largest per capita prison population of any in the country.

Angela Davis, prominent Communist party spokesperson and cochairperson of the NAARPR, delivered the

major speech. She outlined alliance plans for a stepped-up campaign in North Carolina.

Davis proposed a boycott of the state's tourist industry as long as the Wilmington Ten remain in prison.

Imani Kazana called on participants to build a united national campaign in defense of the ten. Kazana is coordinator of the newly formed National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee, headquartered in Washington, D.C. She urged formation of local committees in every city.

Other speakers included Jerry Paul, attorney for Joanne Little; Rev. Bernard Lee, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and Georgia State Sen. Julian Bond.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers party presidential slate of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid came from Miami, Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Richmond, and Charlotte, North Carolina. Demonstrators bought 250 *Militants* and hundreds took copies of the SWP campaign platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People."

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

SEPTEMBER 24, 1976

Lebanon after the fall of Tel Zaatar

Palestinians & leftists on defensive, but not defeated

By David Frankel

Since the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war, the Palestinian national liberation movement has been a major factor in frustrating the aims of American diplomacy in the Middle East. Now, the developments in the Lebanese civil war have led the imperialists to hope that they can at last eliminate the Palestinian movement as an independent force.

As early as July 23, Joseph C. Harsch flatly declared in the *Christian Science Monitor*, "The Palestinians have been defeated on the battlefield, and their ability to dictate the policies of the Arab states is at an end."

Following the fall of the Tel Zaatar refugee camp in Beirut and the brutal massacre there, the editors of the *New York Times* gave their pronouncement on the situation. "The Palestinian base in exile has been demolished in Lebanon in this summer of 1976 as thoroughly as it was in Jordan in the 'Black September' of 1970," the *Times* said August 16.

Wishful thinking

These estimates, however, contain an element of wishful thinking. Despite the hopes of the imperialists, the conflict in Lebanon is far from decided.

Although the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition remains on the defensive, it continues to control the entire western part of Lebanon south of Beirut. In addition, it holds a small enclave around Tripoli in the north. The fall of Tel Zaatar changed nothing in this picture. Having withstood a savage fifty-two day siege, Tel Zaatar was a symbol of great psychological importance, but militarily it had little significance.

The fact is that nothing less than the defeat of the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition in the main centers of Beirut and Saida will decide the war in favor

of the imperialist-backed forces. The bitter resistance put up by the Palestinian fighters in the Tel Zaatar refugee camp is an indication on a small scale of what can be expected in a battle for Beirut.

It is worth recalling the experience of the Syrian army in this regard. After being ordered into Lebanon June 1 by President Hafez al-Assad, Syrian armor and infantry occupied much of eastern Lebanon with little difficulty. But when the Syrian forces attempted to march into Saida and Beirut, they were thrown back with heavy losses.

Different methods

This show of weakness led Assad to try different methods. After destroying the oil refinery at Saida, his troops pulled back. In the meantime, a blockade of the leftist-held ports begun by the Syrian navy at the end of March was maintained. An article in the August 28 issue of *The Economist*, the British financial weekly, explained that "the position now seems to be that Syrian ships blockade entry to the northern Moslem port of Tripoli, the Israelis sit outside Tyre and Sidon, and the American navy patrols the area in between."

But despite the naval blockade, the help of Syrian forces on the ground, and infusions of weapons from Israel, the Christian rightists have been no more successful than the Syrians in their attempts to penetrate West Beirut.

A partition of Lebanon in which a section of the country remains under the control of the Palestinians is something that neither Assad, the U.S. State Department, nor the Israeli regime can accept. Assad, with the approval of Kissinger, is working to restore the old governmental system dominated by the privileged Christian minority. If progress toward this goal is not made by September 15, Assad has reportedly threatened a renewed military attack against the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition.

As for the Israeli regime, it has seized the opportunity to initiate a creeping annexation of southern Lebanon. Israeli combat forces have stepped up patrols inside Lebanese territory, and Foreign Minister Yigal Allon told reporters in Tel Aviv August 31, "We shall not allow the Syrians, the Muslim extremists or the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] to come to an arrangement with the (Christian) Maronites at Israel's expense—giving the PLO the right to use territory to attack Israel."

Soviet role

Another force influencing the events in Lebanon is the Soviet bureaucracy. The Kremlin has finally taken a stand in favor of Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon, but it has refrained from pushing this view too vigorously.

Edward R.F. Sheehan, an Arabist who served the State Department in

Cairo and Beirut, commented in the August 15 *Washington Post* that "despite its public support of the Lebanese left (most verbal, some guns), the Soviet Union itself does not seem to covet a radical republic in Lebanon." Such a republic, Sheehan noted, "might provoke a war with Israel that would produce an American-Russian clash and destroy the conveniences of detente."

While the Moscow bureaucrats attempt to play both sides against the middle in Lebanon, there is no such ambiguity on the part of the rightist forces. Both Assad and the Christian

Cairo agreement restricting the arming of the Palestinian refugee camps, the freedom of movement of the guerrillas, and the areas where they were allowed to operate. But these accords were signed only after the Lebanese army tried to destroy the guerrilla organizations and failed. A return to these agreements now would only signify a temporary pause before new attacks on the position of the Palestinians—and on the mass of Muslim workers and peasants as well.

The PLO's number-two leader, Abu Iyad, said in an interview published September 2 in the Italian newspaper



Palestinian refugees fleeing Tel Zaatar. Although fall of Tel Zaatar was a great psychological blow, it was not a decisive military defeat for Palestinian-Muslim coalition.

rightists are intent on stabilizing a proimperialist Maronite regime in Lebanon. In order to accomplish this, they will ultimately have to crush the Palestinians and their allies on the left. Thus, although a repeat of the Jordanian "Black September" has not yet occurred in Lebanon, the danger of such a disaster taking place is real.

Soft cop

Right now, the right-wing alliance is attempting to wrest concessions from its opponents by a combination of military pressure and negotiations. Pierre Gemayel, the chief of the rightist Phalangist party, is playing the role of soft cop. He has maintained that a Palestinian withdrawal from three towns in the mountains east of Beirut—Sanin, Ain Tura, and Al-Metein—"is the key to peace in Lebanon."

Gemayel was quoted in the Beirut daily *an-Nahar* September 5 as promising that if the Palestinians withdraw from these positions, "they will obtain from us guarantees for their safety in Lebanon and assurances for the continuation of the struggle for the Palestinian cause."

The Phalangists have also demanded the strict application of the 1969

Corriere della Sera that the guerrillas were prepared to abide by the Cairo agreement and withdraw from the mountain positions in return for a Syrian withdrawal.

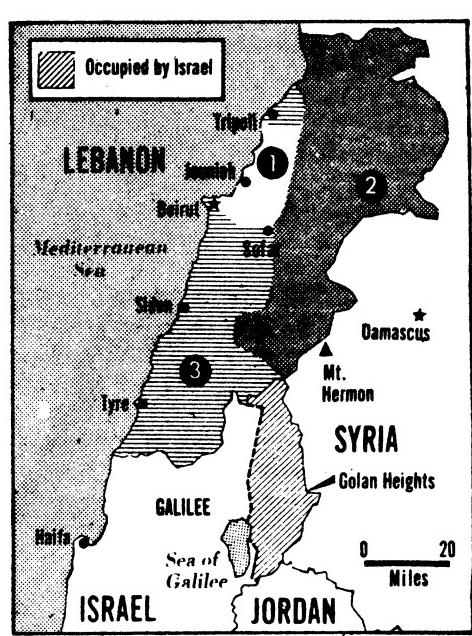
"We are ready to lay down our arms and make all the concessions compatible with the survival of [the] Palestinian resistance, but Damascus will not even discuss it," he said.

What rightists want

What the rightists are really after was indicated recently by Dory Chamoun, secretary general of the National Liberal party, and eldest son of former President Camille Chamoun. A September 4 dispatch from Beirut in the *New York Times* reported that Chamoun has insisted that the Cairo agreement "is now outdated and the only way Lebanon can accept the Palestinians is when they lay down their arms and become refugees again."

Not all the rightists are willing to stop with the demand that the Palestinians give up their struggle to return to their homeland. According to the same September 4 dispatch, "Abu Arz, the commander of a radical [rightist] faction known as Guards of the Ced-

Continued on page 22



1 marks area under Christian rightist control; 2 is area controlled by Syria; 3 is held by Muslim-Palestinian coalition.

Ernest Mandel on the case of Andrei Sakharov and

By Ernest Mandel

[The West German monthly magazine *Das Da*, published in Hamburg, has run a series of comments on the political views of the Soviet nuclear scientist and political dissident Andrei Sakharov. The editors asked Ernest Mandel to state his views on the subject.

[Mandel is a Marxist economist and a leader of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization. He is also a contributing editor of *Intercontinental Press*.]

[The following article by Mandel appeared in the June 1976 issue of *Das Da*. The translation from the German is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

I completely reject Sakharov's current political position. Under the influence of a one-sided preoccupation with

petition, generates a dynamic of capital accumulation and lust for profit that threatens to turn the forces of production into forces of destruction, periodically endangering the existence of material and intellectual culture, and even the physical survival of humanity itself.

Loss of vision

As a result of this loss of vision he also cannot comprehend the only possible solution to the world crisis of society—the liberation of human beings from their subordination to reified technology and alienated commodity production, their transformation from victims of technological "professional deformation" and the "eternal laws of the market" into freely associating producers who determine their own fate in accordance with a plan commonly arrived at. He does not under-

stand that the sections of the constitution that make "antisoviet agitation" punishable by imprisonment are unconstitutional. These sections are an attempt to decisively restrict the freedoms of expression, speech, assembly, and the right to demonstrate that are granted by the constitution. Moreover, they reintroduce the antiquated and reactionary category of "crimes of opinion" harking back to the era of absolutism, like the reactionary blacklisting laws in the German Federal Republic that degrade persons to the status of second-class citizens not because of any criminal acts but solely because of their political convictions.

The fact that in the USSR working people can be sentenced to long years in labor camps for nothing more than criticizing the political decisions of their government stands in clear contradiction to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a type of state modeled on the Paris Commune, without political police, without a standing repressive apparatus, a type of state in which regardless of their political convictions or party allegiances working people must enjoy more freedom of thought and speech more freedom to organize and demonstrate, than in the freest

Committees (CCs), since governments and CCs can err and have clearly done so in innumerable cases, free public discussion makes it possible to more rapidly formulate alternative solutions that may be more correct than those of the majority (only practical experience can demonstrate who is right) and to more rapidly correct errors.

Can anyone seriously maintain that the grave crisis that has marked the Soviet economy for decades could not have been more easily and rapidly overcome if there were a free and open discussion of alternative economic and agricultural policies? At every congress of the CPSU for the last twenty-five years, there has been a denunciation of abuses in the factories—vast unutilized reserves, investment plans frozen for years, irregular supply of raw materials.

Who can deny that these abuses could not have been decisively reduced if the work force were able to denounce them openly in the press without having to check first with the party committees, or if they had the right in fact to themselves eliminate them by introducing a system of factory management through elected factory coun-



ANDREI SAKHAROV

the internal political situation in the USSR, the Soviet scientist has shifted his course away from his socialist convictions toward openly procapitalist views. He has lost his understanding of the decisive responsibility capitalism and imperialism bear for the dreadful conditions in the semicolonies and for the inhuman crimes of the old and new fascist dictatorships.

Sakharov is increasingly blind to the gradual restriction of democratic freedoms in the West that is coming in the train of growing economic difficulties and sharpening class struggles. He fails to notice the newly demonstrated fact that mass unemployment and setbacks in the standard of living and the working conditions of broad strata periodically recur in the capitalist countries.

The Soviet scientist no longer understands that private ownership of the means of production, along with com-

stand that history has brought us up against the dilemma of socialism or barbarism.

However, while I reject Sakharov's political position, I unconditionally support his right to advocate these views freely and openly in the Soviet Union. I support his courageous campaign in defense of the human and civil rights of all Soviet citizens. I maintain, along with him, that there can be no real soviet democracy as long as dissident views cannot be openly printed and propagated. As Rosa Luxemburg put it so cogently, *democracy is always freedom for dissenters*.

Crimes of opinion

So, I think the paragraphs in the Soviet penal code that make "antisoviet agitation" or "slander against the soviet regime" punishable by imprisonment are unconstitutional, and as such

'While I reject Sakharov's political position, I unconditionally support his right to advocate these views freely and openly in the Soviet Union. I support his courageous campaign in defense of the human and civil rights of all Soviet citizens. I maintain, along with him, that there can be no real Soviet democracy as long as dissident views cannot be openly printed and propagated. As Rosa Luxemburg put it so cogently, democracy is always freedom for dissenters.'

bourgeois republic.

In the USSR, there is no free access to printing presses and meeting halls for every group of workers that wants it in order to criticize the general line (in economic, domestic, foreign, cultural, or nationalities policy) of the regime in power. To the contrary, any attempt to exercise the rights guaranteed in the constitution for such a purpose would immediately result in imprisonment.

The paragraphs in the penal code that make "antisoviet agitation" punishable by terms in forced labor camps enable the government and the government party to assure unchallenged their unconstitutional monopoly in administering the state and the economy. Any criticism of the general line of the party leadership is immediately punished as "antisoviet agitation."

Sometimes this leads to absurd results. If convinced advocates of the power of workers councils and democracy based on workers councils called for immediately transferring state power in the USSR to a congress of workers councils elected directly in the factories, in which more than one party could be represented (including of course the Communist party of the Soviet Union), they would be sentenced as "antisoviet agitators." But the word "workers councils" means the same thing as "soviet." Agitation for workers councils is thus considered antisoviet agitation, that is, agitation against workers councils! Thus, the bureaucracy arbitrarily decrees that white is really black.

Correcting errors

Freedom of opinion and speech, freedom to conduct agitation, do not harm the construction of socialism but rather benefit it. Since there are no all-knowing general secretaries or Central

councils subject to recall at any time? Why can't there be an open discussion in the Soviet Union in the press and in factory assemblies about democratically centralized workers self-management as an alternative to the "one-man rule" of factory directors? Does workers self-management equal "capitalist restoration"? Does agitating for workers self-management constitute "antisoviet agitation"?

French CP censored

Still worse: Why as soon as they make the mildest criticism of the Soviet government do communists and socialists in the Soviet Union have less freedom than they enjoy in many capitalist countries? Why can the French and Italian Communists attack their bourgeois governments without having their statements censored, while *Pravda* censored the French CP representative's speech at the Twenty Fifth Congress of the CPSU, as Jean Kanapa complained in his last report to the CC of the French party?

Why have Soviet Communists been sentenced to long prison terms if they criticized the military intervention of the Warsaw Pact powers in Czechoslovakia, when the strongest Communist parties in West Europe (the Italian, French, Spanish, British, Swedish, and Belgian) have often denounced this intervention in still stronger terms? Are the majority of West European Communists perhaps only disguised anti-Communists?

Citizen Gerasimov of the Soviet writers union ended his contribution to the discussion in *Das Da* on the "Sakharov case" with the following sentences:

"After the bourgeois revolutions in Europe, there were more than a few people—either conservatives or just feeble-minded—who wanted to go back

the fight for workers democracy in the Soviet Union

to feudalism. It should be remembered that at that time such people were also called 'dissidents' (Das *Da*, May 1976, p.23).

I have to round out Citizen Gerasimov's memory in two respects. First, fifty years after the bourgeois revolution these profeudal conservatives were not being imprisoned or locked up in insane asylums. They were allowed to speak and write freely. Why fifty years after the victory of the October revolution does the Soviet government feel so threatened by "feeble-minded" individuals that it does not let them speak and write freely but rather frequently condemns them to forced labor for crimes of opinion?

How could the exploitative capitalist societies of England and Switzerland in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, societies deeply riven by class antagonisms, allow Karl Marx and V.I. Lenin to agitate openly against the established social order, while Soviet society, which is supposed to be so united, feels gravely threatened by agitation against the established order and resorts to repression to stamp it out? Is Soviet society today perhaps more divided than the capitalist England of 1865 with its mass poverty?

Marxists imprisoned

Secondly, not only procapitalist opinions are suppressed in the Soviet Union but also Marxist, revolutionary-socialist, and communist ones that differ from the official party line. As is shown by the "Open Letter to the European and American CPs,"¹ there are more than a few people sitting in Soviet forced labor camps who openly, both during and after the trials where they were sentenced, proclaim their allegiance to the teachings of Marx and Lenin, and whose only "crime" consists of printing and distributing texts expressing their interpretations of Marxism-Leninism.

I myself wrote, among other things, a book on Marxist economic theory and a Marxist analysis of "late capitalism," which stimulated vigorous discussion in broad circles in the interna-

Trotsky, the organizer of the October insurrection, the creator of the Red Army, the man designated in Lenin's last testament as the CPSU's most capable leader, are not freely available in the USSR? Why is it that they no longer print the works of such outstanding Communists as Gregory Zinoviev, the first chairman of the Communist International; Nikolai Bukharin, Zinoviev's successor in this post; Evgeny Preobrazhensky, the first general secretary (preceding Stalin) of the CC of the CPSU; Christian Rakovsky, the first chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic; and of many other members of Lenin's Central Committee, whose names, despite Stalin's crimes against them, remain inseparably bound up with the history of the socialist October revolution and the founding of the Soviet state?

Suppression of freedom of opinion, thought, and the press in the USSR only assists capitalism in its attempt to present itself to people both in the East and West as a "freer" system than socialist society. It is an obstacle to the consolidation of genuine socialist consciousness in the minds of Soviet citizens. Ideologies (even reactionary ones) can only be effectively combated on the level of ideas. If you try to suppress them by force, in the long run you only give them more force.

Bureaucracy fears workers

It was not without reason that the great Soviet scholar Kapitza said on the fiftieth anniversary of the October revolution that the present generation of Soviet youth no longer knows how to argue. Only in a climate of sharp, public, wide-ranging debate, can Marxism (which has been withering in the role of a state religion) bloom again, can new Plekhanovs, new Lenins, new Trotskys, flourish in the USSR. But this is probably precisely the main reason why the Soviet bureaucracy suppresses freedom of debate. There is nothing it fears more than a politically active, conscious working class.

Marxism is a science, which like any



ERNEST MANDEL

Labor Challenge/Jeff White

press by the party must necessarily appear to me in a peculiar light. How are you any different than Puttkammer,³ if you introduce an 'antisocialist law'⁴ into our own ranks? No party in any country can impose silence on me if I am determined to speak out. But I should like you to consider if you would not do better to be less touchy-less Prussian—in your dealings. You—the party—need socialist scholarship, and the latter cannot live without freedom of movement."

These words breathe the whole spirit of genuine Marxism. They haunt the conscience of the present rulers of the USSR.

Need social analysis

Repression of dissidents for mere crimes of opinion, the brutal suppression of freedom of the press and freedom to organize for political oppositionists, an "antisocialist law" and censorship "in our own ranks"—all these things are by no means just "blemishes" that "with time" can be removed from the lovely face of "socialism" in the USSR. As Marxists we have to find the *social explanation* for the continuing absence of soviet democracy in the USSR, more than twenty years after the Twentieth Party Congress, more than twenty-five years since the victory of the Chinese revolution broke the encirclement of the Soviet Union, when the USSR has already become the world's second-largest industrial power. To continue to attribute this political deformation today to backwardness and relative poverty is insufficient; ascribing it to "the cult of the personality" is simply laughable.

The explanation of the abuses in the Soviet Union lies in the fact that Lenin already described in 1921: The Soviet

when Engels got it published in the party journal *Neue Zeit* without the approval of the party officials. The leadership raised the question of discipline and procedures. It was in response to this that Engels made these remarks in his May 1 letter to Bebel. For the text, see *Marx Engels Werke*, Berlin 1968, vol. 38, p. 89.

3. Robert Victor von Puttkamer, German minister of the interior from 1881 to 1888, during much of the period when repressive legislation was in force against the Social Democratic party.

4. The Antisocialist Law was in force in the German Empire from 1878 to 1890. It denied legal rights to the Social Democratic party and its mass organizations.

Union is not a pure workers state but a *bureaucratically deformed* one. The direct exercise of state power gradually slipped out of the hands of the working class, out of the hands of its freely elected councils, out of the hands of its vanguard. It was monopolized by the state, economic, and party bureaucracy.

On the basis of that monopoly of administration and authority, this social layer holds enormous material privileges, which it seeks by every means to defend. Soviet democracy with unrestricted civil rights for everyone; workers leaders freely elected in votes where various parties and groupings could present slates; workers control over the entire economy and state; unrestricted public debate on all questions of interest to the society, including those of "high policy"; democratically centralized workers self-management in the factories—all this would mean the end of these privileges. And so the bureaucracy clings to its monopoly of power and to the one-party system that covers it up and legitimizes it. For this reason it stubbornly opposes any genuine soviet democracy, even though this could only help in building socialism.

Bureaucracy not a class

The bureaucracy is not a new class. Capitalism has not been restored in the Soviet Union. The Soviet working class feels instinctively what a gigantic step backward such a restoration would bring and is vigorously resisting the first steps in this direction, such as, for example, giving factory directors the right to dismiss workers. I stand completely on the side of these workers in their defense of the gains of the October revolution, against the procapitalist machinations of their oppressors, as well as against the proposals of a Sakharov.

The best guarantee against such a restoration is an independently acting, self-managing, politically mobilized working class. Such a force will once again come onto the stage in the Soviet Union, to the terror not only of the present rulers but also of imperialism and of Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov. The struggle of the international working class, especially the West European workers, for a democratic system of workers councils in the highly industrialized countries, will, once it wins a decisive victory, make an important contribution to this new rise of the Soviet working class.

'Suppression of freedom of opinion, thought, and the press in the USSR only assists capitalism in its attempt to present itself to people both in the East and West as a "freer" system than socialist society. It is an obstacle to the consolidation of genuine socialist consciousness in the minds of Soviet citizens. . . . Marxism is a science, which like any science, can only develop in a climate of unrestricted, free confrontation of opinions.'

tional workers movement (including the Communist parties), as well as among scholars. The Western governments regard me as an irreconcilable opponent of capitalism. Four of them, including the United States, the German Federal Republic, and France, have banned me from their territories. Why can't my books be freely printed and distributed in the Soviet Union? Why is it that this article of mine, which despite its sharp criticism of capitalism can be published in capitalist Germany, cannot appear in the "socialist" Soviet Union?

Why is it that the works of L.D.

1. This document was printed in the July 3, 1975, issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly magazine published in Brussels by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. It was also printed in the September 12, 1975, issue of the *Militant*.

science, can only develop in a climate of unrestricted, free confrontation of opinions. We should note what the old Friedrich Engels wrote to August Bebel on May 1, 1891:²

"Since you tried to prevent publication of the article by force and *Neue Zeit* has been warned that the next time this happens it may be expropriated by the party and placed under censorship, the seizure of your entire

2. Marx's criticism of the Gotha program of the German Social Democratic party in a letter known under the title "Marginal Comments" was long suppressed by the party leadership. It attacked formulations in the program reflecting concessions to the concepts of Lassalle. (The Gotha program was drafted as a basis for fusion between the Lassalleans and the Marxists.) Although the letter was written in 1875, it did not become generally known until 1891,

3. Robert Victor von Puttkamer, German minister of the interior from 1881 to 1888, during much of the period when repressive legislation was in force against the Social Democratic party.

4. The Antisocialist Law was in force in the German Empire from 1878 to 1890. It denied legal rights to the Social Democratic party and its mass organizations.

Behind Irish republic's state of emergency

By Gerry Foley

On September 1, the Fine Gael-Labour party coalition government in Dublin pushed a state of emergency declaration through parliament.

The bill suspending constitutional rights passed by a thin majority of 70 to 65 in the Dáil, the lower house.

The state of emergency was opposed by Fianna Fáil, historically the party of the more nationalist section of the bourgeoisie and supported by a majority of small farmers and workers.

In the past, differences in the Irish bourgeoisie have been sharp. They led to civil war in 1921-22 and to semi-civil war in the mid-1930s, when Fine Gael leaders organized the Blueshirts, a fascist-like movement, to oppose Fianna Fáil's protectionist policies, which were harming the interests of the large farmers.

The differences between the two bourgeois parties have, however, narrowed to the vanishing point in the last decades. Nonetheless, a difference remains between their base and historic identifications.

Thus, Fine Gael, the continuator of the forces that crushed the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle in the civil war, is better able to mount an all-out assault on the nationalist movement and the nationalist tradition.

Fine Gael, the minority bourgeois party since the 1930s, has been able to rule only in coalition with the Irish Labour party. Until the late 1960s, the Labour party was a grouping of right-wing local cliques, but at that time a large section of the union movement affiliated to it and it gained a significant working-class base.

The Fine Gael-Labour coalition won the 1973 elections on a platform of "peace" and social-welfare reforms. Moreover, Fianna Fáil had become discredited among its traditional supporters.

The Labour party has played a completely subordinate role in the coalition, gaining little for the workers who support it.

The Labour party's association with the repression of this regime can put in

question its ability to maintain its working-class base. It is clear that the state of emergency is aimed against the masses. Denis Coghlan commented in the August 24 issue of the *Irish Times*, the country's most prominent capitalist newspaper:

"The answer is not repressive, or emergency, legislation. The emergency is not going to go away. . . .

"Jobs, rather than laws, are needed. There were 112,160 people on the unemployment register last week. Those figures did not include about 50,000 small farmers and unemployed school leavers from last year. Neither did it reflect the fact that about 50,000 students of all levels were dumped on a contracting employment market this summer.

"That there are 200,000 potential 'subversives'—or people with a tendency to overthrow the existing order of things—in the Republic is a sobering thought."

The problem is that all attempts by the bourgeoisie to develop the Irish economy have failed, both the weak tariff-protected industrialization of the first Fianna Fáil governments and the total capitulation to imperialism of today's Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael. Now, because of worldwide unemployment the chronic crisis can no longer be defused by draining Ireland of its youth through emigration.

The vote on the state of emergency in the Dáil indicates, however, that powerful historical factors still divide the Irish bourgeoisie as it moves toward repression.

Another obstacle on this path is reflected by the fact that at the very time it was moving to introduce police-state methods, the Dublin government felt obliged to press its case against Britain in the European Human Rights Court for using these very methods in the North.

Thus, an antirepression movement in Ireland can prove exceptionally powerful. At the same time, it is obvious that the stakes in the confrontation over the state of emergency are extremely high, both for the workers movement and for the bourgeoisie.

there are important political factors that can turn such a confrontation into a dangerous gamble for Assad.

In the first place, there is considerable confusion and mistrust in the ranks of the Syrian army over its role in Lebanon.

Until now, Assad has apparently been successful in containing any disaffection among his troops in Lebanon. But what will happen if they begin to take heavy casualties in a confrontation with the PLO?

Moreover, opposition to Assad's policies in Lebanon has been reflected closer to home. According to an August 13 dispatch in the *New York Times*, travelers coming to Beirut from Syria "spoke of security problems, with at least one explosion heard in Damascus every night this week."

Economic strains in Syria are also growing as a result of Assad's adventure in Lebanon. The Iraqi regime has cut off the supply of petroleum to the Homs refinery, which provided Syria with all of its gasoline and much of its foreign exchange. The cost of maintaining 20,000 troops and 450 tanks in Lebanon has further weakened the Syrian economy. Shortages of basic goods and inflation are increasing.

World news notes

Polish dissident victimized for protesting jailings

In mid-July, Jacek Kuron, a dissident Polish Marxist, sent an open letter to Enrico Berlinguer, general secretary of the Italian Communist party.

The letter appealed to Berlinguer "to help the Polish workers who are being buried in filth by the press, the radio, and television, beaten by the police, thrown into prison, brought before the courts on charges of sabotage, and condemned to long prison sentences."

This repression is being carried out by the Stalinist regime in Poland in retaliation for the general strike this summer that successfully fought off huge increases in food prices.

After the open letter was published in Italy, Kuron, who is forty years old, was called up for a three-month tour of military duty on Poland's eastern frontier.

Elzbieta Boeuckla-Kuron, Jacek Kuron's wife, sent a letter to the "Complaints Bureau" of the Polish Ministry of Defense protesting her husband's being called to active duty. She explained that he has a serious heart condition, and that the military doctor

JACEK KURON Copain

who originally examined him declared him unfit for service.

Kuron has a long history of active opposition to the Stalinist regime in Poland. He was expelled from the Polish Communist party's youth organization after writing a study of conditions in Poland in collaboration with Karol Modzelewski, a dissident party member.

In response to the expulsion, Kuron and Modzelewski wrote an *Open Letter to the Polish Communist Party*, giving a Marxist analysis of the bureaucracy's rule in Poland.

Kuron was then imprisoned for three years, released early in 1968, and imprisoned again a few months later in the wake of student protests. He was not released again until 1971.

'New details' disclosed on Korean incident

Information belatedly released by the Ford administration confirms that the original "tree-cutting" incident in the Korean demilitarized zone was a deliberate White House provocation.

Testifying before two House subcommittees September 1, Assistant Secretary of State Arthur W. Hummel, Jr., and Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Morton I. Abramowitz made public "many new details," the *Washington Post* reported September 2.

In particular, they "reported for the first time . . . that the United States had been concerned in advance that the tree-trimming would cause an incident."

In fact, the *Post* report said, "North Korean guards twice warned a United Nations Command team against cutting the celebrated poplar tree in the Korean demilitarized zone. . . .

"The first warning was 12 days before two U.S. officers were killed near the tree and the second came minutes before the fatal attack."

Editor of 'Marka' jailed in Peru

Carlos Urrutia, editor of the Peruvian weekly newsmagazine *Marka*, was arrested in Lima August 17 by the political police. As of August 23, he had not been charged with any crime.

The arrest took place the same day that the Lima daily *Expreso* published a letter by Urrutia answering the regime's attempt to justify the recent shutdown of a number of independent publications, including *Marka*. Before its suppression, *Marka* had been noted for its extensive coverage of the plight of political prisoners.

In the letter Urrutia said, "The government has closed down twelve magazines, thrown into the streets hundreds of workers who lent their services to those publications, almost bankrupted the news companies that depended on the sale of the now-banned magazines, and persecuted the journalists, including searching their homes—all for the single crime of expressing their dissenting positions with regard to the policies of the government."

It is feared that Urrutia may be deported or jailed in the notorious El Sepa prison in the Peruvian Amazon. *Marka* has issued an international appeal, asking that messages demanding Urrutia's release be sent to President Francisco Morales Bermúdez, Government House, Lima, Peru.

Seoul condemns 18 dissidents

Eighteen prominent South Korean dissidents, including former President Yun Po Sun and former presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung, were sentenced to harsh jail terms August 28. They were accused of rebellion for issuing a manifesto at an ecumenical mass March 1.

The manifesto called for the repeal of a 1975 decree that bans almost all expression of dissident views. This includes any criticism of the 1972 constitution, which gives president Park Chung Hee dictatorial powers and allows him to stay in office indefinitely.

The defendants—teachers, politicians, and religious figures—received sentences of two to eight years.

...Lebanon

Continued from page 19

ars, has said that the struggle will not end until 'every Palestinian has been driven out of Lebanon.' At one of his recent news conferences, he said it was the duty of every Lebanese to kill at least one Palestinian."

The Palestinians have taken the brunt of the fighting in Lebanon—one estimate in the August 22 *New York Times* was that half of the dead in the civil war have been Palestinian. Following the fall of Tel Zaatar, checkpoints for the conscription of Palestinian fighters were set up in Saida and Beirut. On August 28 the PLO called for a general mobilization of all Palestinians between the ages of eighteen and thirty.

Will the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition be able to withstand an all-out attack if the Syrian forces are ordered into action by Assad?

Militarily, especially in combination with the Lebanese rightists, Assad's forces clearly have the upper hand. But

Kremlin rooting for Ford

Gus Hall, detente & '76 election

By Steve Clark

"Big business will win with Ford and they cannot lose with Carter," Communist party presidential candidate Gus Hall said at a New York rally a while back.

The CP is aiming salvos at both the Democratic and Republican party nominees this fall. The Stalinists are running their most ambitious presidential campaign in several decades.

According to the September 9 *Daily World*, a CP newspaper, Hall and running mate Jarvis Tyner are already on the ballot in more states than they were during their 1972 race. (The CP also ran a ticket in 1968. But it sat out the previous six presidential contests, supporting the nominees of the Democratic party and—in 1948—the short-lived Progressive party.)

The CP's stance toward the November presidential election, however, doesn't mean that it has abandoned its long tradition of backing capitalist party candidates—especially Democrats.

A previous *Militant* article documented the CP's current support to dozens of Democratic party candidates in elections to Congress and to state and local offices. (*Militant*, July 30.)

In addition, the CP supported Fred Harris and Morris Udall in the Democratic party primaries and favored the defeat of Ronald Reagan in the Republican race.

The *Daily World* explained that Harris and Udall "offered the most concrete approaches to curbing the monopolies. . . ."

'Antimonopoly' candidates?

By this, the CP meant that these two ill-fated candidates spiced their rhetoric this spring with pledges to break up the oil corporations and patch up a tax loophole here and there.

Such timeworn promises mean even less today than they did fifty years ago during the Progressive movement, when they were first used by capitalist politicians like Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson.

The entire U.S. economy is dominated by a handful of giant banks and corporations; these in turn are owned and operated by an even tinier club of super-rich ruling-class families.

To imagine that this stranglehold can be broken by minor tinkering is totally unrealistic. *Capitalism in twentieth-century America is monopoly capitalism*. There is no "antimonopoly" section of the ruling class or of its two parties, the Democrats and Republicans.

Hall talks about "antimonopoly" politics to make it clear that he is *not* talking about anticapitalist politics, about an independent labor party, or about an independent Black or Chicano political party. At most Hall is talking about some future realignment of liberal capitalist politicians into a more "progressive" capitalist party.

McCarthy campaign

What the CP means by "antimonopoly party" has been clarified recently by its friendly remarks about liberal Democrat Eugene McCarthy's allegedly independent campaign for the presidency.

The August 7 *Daily World* states that "McCarthy represents a future development for independence that both parties fear." And Gus Hall told Chicago columnist Mike Klein that the McCarthy movement "is the embryo of the force that will someday form a whole new broad coalition of people and from which will come a new independent political party."

Whatever things McCarthy may be independent of, capitalist politics is certainly not one of them. His initial



Ford with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev. CP knows that its Kremlin mentors favor Ford in November election, just as they backed a Nixon victory in 1972.

running mate—later dropped because of ballot complications—was William Clay Ford, a vice-president of Ford Motor Company and an heir to its fortune. And McCarthy's stated reason for running is "to define and clarify the functions of the various branches and agencies of government."

Hardly an inspiring alternative for working people!

A relatively clear statement of where the CP stands on this is in the main resolution passed at the CP's 1975 convention. "There are some who underestimate the movements for Black political independence and political independence generally," it says, "because they take place largely within the Democratic party or within its orbit."

So the CP's "antimonopoly" politics today still mean primarily supporting the "good" candidates of a monopoly party—the Democratic party.

Détente

The deciding factor for the Communist party in labeling candidates "progressive" is their attitude toward détente with the Kremlin bureaucracy.

The CP's allegiance to Stalin's heirs shapes its entire program. The CP defends Moscow's suppression of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union and its use of revolutionary struggles around the world as bargaining chips in diplomatic deals with Washington.

The Kremlin bureaucrats long ago turned their backs on working-class internationalism. They are not concerned about unemployment, inflation, racism, or other problems affecting working people in the United States. Moscow's goal is simple: to preserve détente at any price. The job of Communist parties outside the Soviet Union is to do what they can to foster those capitalist politicians most friendly to Moscow.

Accordingly, during last spring's early primaries the American CP centered its fire on the candidates it considered most antidétente: George Wallace and Henry Jackson in the Democratic party, Ronald Reagan in the Republican.

Until Jackson and Wallace were clearly out of the running, the CP kept its criticism of Jimmy Carter very low-key. A front-page article in the March 18 *Daily World* reported, "Ultra-right forces in both the Democratic and Republican Parties received severe blows in Illinois in yesterday's primary elections, as George Wallace and Ronald Reagan were swamped by Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter and President Gerald Ford."

The tone of other *Daily World* articles seemed to be offering President

Ford election-year advice in his effort to fend off Reagan's challenge. The paper's associate editor Mike Zagarell wrote in May: "Ford differs from Reagan on one point: détente. But even here he has been unwilling to fight. . . . It is Ford himself who eliminated the word 'détente' from his vocabulary. . . .

"In short, Ford has forfeited the offensive in the primaries. The result is that he is unable to mobilize anybody. . . . Ford moves to the right; the more moderate Republicans tend to simply stay away."

The CP knows very well that the Kremlin prefers a Ford victory this fall, just as it favored Nixon—the "father" of détente—in 1972. Yet the American Stalinists feel free to criticize Ford—especially for backing away from détente—because they also know that Moscow could easily live with Carter.

An openly pro-Ford stance, of course, would be very costly for the CP in terms of the inevitable reaction among its members, periphery, and the American workers as a whole.

Hall-Tyner campaign

If Reagan had walked off with the Republican nomination in Kansas City last month, the CP would certainly have toned down its broadsides against Carter. Given a Ford-Carter contest, however, the Stalinists are likely to take the opportunity to push their own Hall-Tyner campaign.

There are several reasons why the CP would very much like to do so.

The success of Socialist Workers party election campaigns is one of the major factors pressuring the CP to run its own slate. The Stalinists have historically portrayed the SWP as a small, insignificant sect—or even as a capitalist-inspired operation to "split and wreck" the radical movement.

Yet in 1968 the CP got on the ballot in only two states, while the SWP was on the ballot in nineteen. Four years later the CP made it in thirteen states; but the SWP was on in twenty-three.

SWP campaigns have gotten widespread publicity and won many supporters among radicalizing young people. The SWP has also run many well-publicized campaigns for state and local office.

If all this is possible for a "small, insignificant sect," many of the CP's younger and more militant members most likely wondered, why can't their own party do as well?

Added to this pressure on CP leaders is the nationwide publicity and acclaim the SWP has received as a result of its lawsuit against surveillance and harassment by the FBI, CIA, and

other government agencies.

An article by CP leader Victor Perlo in the weekly *World* magazine this summer offered the explanation that the government wants the SWP "built up as 'the leading left party.'"

Such slanders are not very convincing, however, and the CP has had to respond to the SWP's independent, working-class campaigns by attempting to mount a more energetic electoral effort itself.

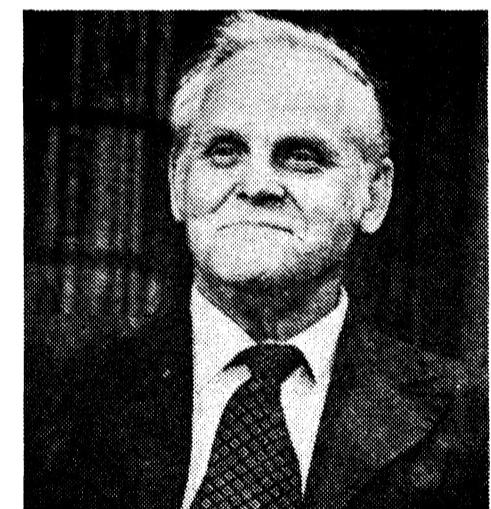
The pressure, however, has come not only from the SWP. The bankruptcy of the two capitalist parties has been increasingly exposed by Vietnam, Watergate, high prices, and unemployment.

Sentiment for a break with the Democrats and Republicans has increased in this country, even among the CP's own younger members. It is particularly hard to sell candidates such as Gerald Ford, Nixon's hand-picked successor, and Jimmy Carter, the advocate of "ethnic purity."

'Not convinced'

Many of the CP's older members, on the other hand, have been immersed in the Democratic party so long that they are either uncomfortable with or downright resistant to Communist party campaigns.

CP leader Gus Hall first drew attention to this problem in a speech to the party's Central Committee in December 1972. "My guess is that 30 percent, maybe 40 percent, of Communists did not vote for the Communist presidential ticket," Hall said. He added that even Central Committee members were guilty on this score.



HALL: Still worried that he may not carry his whole party in November voting.

The CP had been wrong, Hall said, in not running its own presidential tickets between the early 1940s and 1968.

Apparently this malady is not easily cured. In a speech to the CP's National Council last March, Hall returned to this theme. "The basic problem is that we have not politically convinced the party," he said. "The root of the weakness is in the leading cadre."

"We must never revert back to the days of opportunistic abdication from electoral struggle," Hall warned.

This problem is made worse by the CP's continuing support for Democrats at all levels of government. Gus Hall sermonizes on the importance of CP campaigns, but at the same time tells CP members to ring doorbells for liberal Democrats such as U.S. Rep. Bella Abzug, Tom Hayden, Rep. John Conyers, and many others.

The truth is that top Communist party leaders have not broken with the Democratic party or with capitalist politics in general. And when—for their own reasons—they try to whip up enthusiasm for an independent campaign, it is little wonder that they get at best a lukewarm response.

Puerto Rican struggle in the U.S.

By José G. Pérez

At its twenty-eighth national convention last month, the Socialist Workers party adopted a major resolution on the struggles of Puerto Ricans living in the United States. More than 1,650 people attended the convention.

"The Emerging Puerto Rican Struggle in the United States and Its Perspectives" was the SWP's first resolution on this important movement. It summarizes the lessons socialists have drawn from participation in the Puerto Rican movement and the perspectives they see for it.

Catarino Garza, an SWP leader for many years and the party's candidate for Congress in New York's Eighteenth District, reported to the convention on the resolution.

Three events

Garza noted that three events since the resolution was published last May confirmed its analysis of the Puerto Rican struggle.

"The most dramatic," he said, "was the march in Philadelphia on July Fourth. Tens of thousands of people marched to demand freedom for Puerto Rico, to demand a bicentennial without colonies."

"The second event," Garza continued, "is that Hostos Community College in New York City's South Bronx will be open in September." The city's board of higher education had planned to close the college, but repeated mobilizations by students and the Puerto Rican community forced a reversal of that decision. Hostos is the only bilingual college in the eastern United States.

The third event Garza pointed to was the strike by hospital workers in New York City. Some 40,000 members of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, had just concluded a successful struggle for union recognition and a city-wide contract.

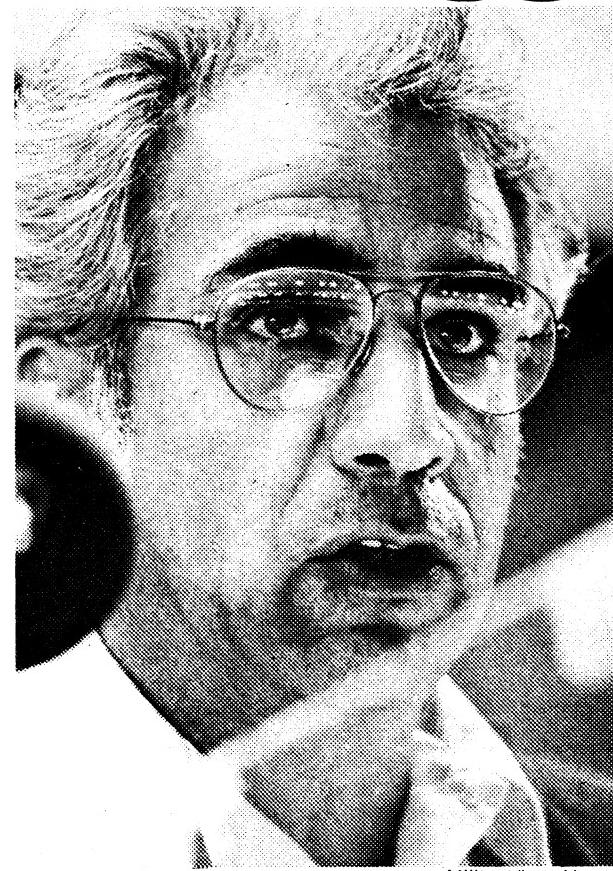
Puerto Ricans, as part of the working class, participated in the picket lines around these hospitals and gave those lines, along with their West Indian brothers and sisters. . . . a distinctly Caribbean flavor."

"In the first two events I mentioned," Garza said, "Puerto Ricans fought for their democratic rights. In the third, they were fighting as part of a broader working-class struggle. But in all three cases, the enemy is the same—the ruling rich of this country."

The resolution explains that Puerto Ricans in the United States suffer a double oppression. They are oppressed as a national minority and exploited as part of the working class.

"Racial and language characteristics are utilized by the capitalist ruling class to brand Puerto Ricans and restrict them to second-class status," the resolution states. This means that Puerto Ricans are among the most exploited workers in the United States.

Although there are two distinct aspects of the



Militant/Lou Howort

Catarino Garza reported to convention on 'The Emerging Puerto Rican Struggle in the U.S. and Its Perspectives.'

Puerto Rican movement, the resolution points out, in real life "both struggles are woven together, and one cannot win without the victory of the other."

The twofold oppression of the Puerto Rican people, together with their concentration in major cities, gives their struggles a social impact disproportionate to their percentage of the U.S. population as a whole.

In this sense, Puerto Ricans are like the larger Black and Chicano oppressed nationalities: their struggles have a combined character and have an enormous impact on society as a whole.

Because of this, the Socialist Workers party believes that the coming American revolution will also have a combined character. It will be a revolution both of the working class as a whole to put an end to capitalist exploitation and of oppressed peoples to win control over their own destiny and put an end to national oppression.

Strategy

Garza's report also analyzed the different groups that are vying for leadership of the Puerto Rican masses. He assessed the solutions these groups offer to the problems facing Puerto Ricans.

One of the major forces is the capitalist Democratic party. "The illusions fostered by the ruling class about the system are still strong among the masses of Puerto Ricans," Garza said.

Uppermost among these illusions is that American capitalism is capable of ending the oppression of Puerto Ricans and that capitalist politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties are willing to do that.

These illusions are fostered by the capitalist politicians, the educational system, the media, the church hierarchy, and the network of poverty agencies in Puerto Rican communities, Garza said.

Richie Ariza, a delegate from Newark who was elected to the SWP National Committee at the convention, explained the role played by poverty agencies in Puerto Rican communities.

"They pretend to be the civil rights organizations of the Puerto Rican community," he said. "We don't have groups like the Congress of Racial Equality, the NAACP, a lot of elected officials, or church-related groups. So the poverty agencies come to the fore."

Garza said the function of these agencies is to "buy off developing militants and potential leaders—to divert their efforts and energies into channels the capitalists and their government can control."

Garza and several delegates also discussed the role of various working-class tendencies in the Puerto Rican movement, including the Communist party, the Puerto Rican Socialist party, and Maoist groups such as the Puerto Rican Revolutionary

Workers Organization.

The SWP's strategy for the Puerto Rican movement stresses the need for independent action by working people against all aspects of capitalist exploitation and oppression.

This can take many forms—a rally for independence for Puerto Rico; a demonstration against cutbacks and layoffs; a strike for higher wages or better working conditions.

One of the most important forms, Garza said, is independent political action—a break with the political machines of the oppressing class.

"As a first step in that process," he said, "we propose that Puerto Rican groups run their own candidates for office independent of the Democrats or Republicans."

Self-determination

Another section of the resolution dealt with the democratic right of oppressed peoples to self-determination. The SWP has always supported Puerto Rico's right to independence, but the large Puerto Rican migration to the United States after World War II has posed the problem in a new way.

It is not clear whether the bulk of Puerto Ricans in the United States will decide to return to Puerto Rico when it achieves independence. So for Puerto Ricans, self-determination means not only the right to independence for Puerto Rico. It also means the right to control their own affairs while living in the United States—both now and when Puerto Rico becomes independent.

Women

The resolution also deals with the special oppression of Puerto Rican women. They are "oppressed as part of the working class, as a national minority, and as women," the resolution says.

During the convention discussion, Naomi Vega, one of the delegates from New York's Lower East Side branch, proposed that several demands be added to others listed at the end of the resolution.

Vega said that among the most important demands around which Puerto Rican women have been fighting are child care, free abortion on demand, an end to forced sterilization, and equal pay for equal work.

Garza told the delegates that the demands outlined by Vega would be included in the final version of the resolution. The resolution and Garza's report will be published soon.

Garza ended his report by discussing the need for a revolutionary multinational party in the United



Militant/Henry Snipper

Delegates Richie Ariza and Naomi Vega

States. He said the American capitalist class is the most powerful, centralized, and ruthless ruling class the world has ever seen. Working people need an equally powerful tool to defeat the capitalists.

Garza said the multinational party based on the model of Lenin's Bolsheviks is "the most advanced form of organization the world working-class movement has developed."

"It must bring together the best fighters of all movements of the oppressed," he continued, "and weld them together into one team. That team will combine all the struggles and lead them to victory and a successful socialist revolution."

"That's the kind of party the SWP is assembling," Garza concluded.

In addition to discussing the resolution and report, delegates heard greetings from the Internationalist Workers League, the party's sister organization in Puerto Rico. There was also a workshop where party members involved in the Puerto Rican struggle discussed how to put the resolution into practice.

Free political prisoners!

In his report to the Socialist Workers party convention on the struggle of Puerto Ricans in the United States, Catarino Garza said, "One of our elementary obligations is to mobilize opposition to any U.S. government attempt to victimize fighters for Puerto Rico's independence."

Garza singled out the case of five members of the Puerto Rican Nationalist party who have been in U.S. prisons since the early 1950s.

The convention also voted to send a telegram to Lureida Torres, a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist party who was imprisoned last June. Torres had refused to cooperate with a grand jury carrying out a fishing expedition against her party.

"The use of imprisonment to punish fighters for freedom is just one of the weapons of Yankee imperialism," the message said.

"We know that you are aware of it, and we salute your courage and determination to fight for Puerto Rico's independence. We look forward to joining with you on the field of battle and we pledge our efforts to obtain your earliest release."

By Steve Clark

Evelyn Casellas had seen members of the Socialist Workers party petitioning to get on the ballot on the street corner near where she lives.

So last spring, when she decided it was time to become active in politics, she picked up her phone, called the operator, and asked for the number of the SWP.

Evelyn is Puerto Rican. She is twenty-nine, lives in the Bronx, and has three children. Right now she is worried about finding a job for herself and decent child-care facilities for her children.

A friend of hers—a social worker—told Evelyn not to join the SWP. "He told me, 'Evelyn, you have enough problems of your own. You can't solve the problems of the world too.'

"But I told him I was concerned about all the peoples of the world. And I was going to help them solve their problems—along with my own—by making a socialist revolution."

Did she like the SWP convention? "I feel like I've found a home," she said. "I like it and I'm going to stay."

"I'd always thought that if you elected the right Democrat, things would change," said twenty-five-year-old **Brigid Douglas**.

Late last spring she began to see that this just wasn't true. So she joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

Brigid—a former welfare case worker in Detroit—is now an English major at Wayne State University.

Through one of her classmates there, she found out about the Detroit Student Coalition Against Racism. Some SCAR activists were YSA members, and that's where she first bumped into the socialist movement.

Brigid went to the national demonstration for the Equal Rights Amendment in Springfield, Illinois, last May. "I thought it was terrific," she said. "I went there enthusiastic, and my enthusiasm increased because of the size and spirit of the crowd."

What did Brigid think of the convention?

"It's impressive—very informative. It convinced me that I should join the SWP."

Frank, we'll call him, didn't want his name or picture used in the *Militant*, because "the screws would be on me in my union."

Frank—a merchant seaman—isn't a member of the SWP. But he had become interested in the party a few years back after some disillusioning experiences with the Communist party. For a while, however, Frank dropped out of political activity altogether.

But "a lot of issues are coming up in my union, a lot of class issues are cropping up," he said. "And it got me interested in the party again."

Frank said that he was "really impressed by the amount of trade-union work" SWP members are participating in. "That's really encouraging to me—seeing the strength of the party."

Until about a year ago, **Mark McColloch**, twenty-eight, was a member of a small, very sectarian political group called the Workers League.

But he quit. And last July he became a member of the Socialist Workers party.

Why? "The Workers League didn't get involved in mass struggles," he said.

"For example, I had always been really strongly for busing. The Workers League used to at least have a position on paper in support of busing.

"But when the real struggle over

Who's joining the SWP?

Smack dab above the podium at the August Socialist Workers party convention in Ohio was a large banner proclaiming: "Our party is your party . . . Join the SWP!"

And before the week-long convention was over, more than thirty people had done just that.

Another 104 convention participants had only recently joined the SWP, and nearly 300 were attending their first party convention.

The Militant spoke to a number of these people during the convention: new members; people who decided to join the SWP at the convention; and people who are seriously thinking about it.

Below are some of the things they had to say about themselves, about the convention, and about the SWP.

desegregation in Boston broke out, they didn't support it. They not only criticized the way the SWP campaigned in support of busing, they began to criticize busing itself."

Mark teaches at the University of Pittsburgh and at Allegheny Community College. He is on the executive board of his American Federation of Teachers local and sits on Pittsburgh's Central Labor Council.

Mark is still very concerned about the issue of busing. Along with other AFT members around the country, he is working to put the AFT squarely on record for busing.

Mark is impressed by the democratic nature of the SWP. "There isn't any campaign to intimidate people who have questions or disagreements as there was in the Workers League," he said.

He was also impressed by the "professionalism of the arrangements" at the convention. "I developed a lot more confidence in the SWP from what I've seen here," he said.

Twenty-seven-year-old **Sandy Porter** has considered himself a Trotskyist since 1972. He first met members of the Young Socialist Alliance when he was president of the Black Student Union at Merritt College in Oakland, California.

But Sandy didn't join the SWP until last March. For a long time, he said, "I didn't want to say I was a Marxist, because Marx was a white dude."

When some prominent Black leaders began to discuss Marxist ideas a few years ago, Maoism

emerged as an influential current at Merritt. And at first, Sandy said, he was somewhat reluctant to speak out about his Trotskyist leanings.

Since then, Sandy has changed his mind. "I have a Maoist friend in the Black Student Union," he said. "When somebody says something he doesn't like, he calls them a Trotskyist."

"I used to back off. But now I say, 'Thank you.'"

Kara Obradović, twenty-two, is also a member of the Black Student Union at Merritt College. She used to be a leading member of the Maoist February First Movement (FFM).

Last July, however, Kara joined the Young Socialist Alliance. And at the convention, she decided to join the SWP.

"With the FFM," she said, "you got the feeling you were one of the few revolutionaries in the world. It was a feeling of isolation."

"But the SWP is different. We're always reaching out to new movements, to other groups. It's not the snobbishness, the sectarianism, of the Maoists."

The Maoists also "ruled people with an iron hand," she said. "The democracy in this party is . . . well, it's heartwarming."

"It's a new thing for me to make decisions and have them count. My opinion matters."

"Wow, it's great!"

Joyce Rankin's daughter has been a member of the SWP for nearly seven years. And her sister had been a member during the 1960s.

"I guess I was just waiting for a party branch to be established in Baltimore," she said. When that happened early this year, Joyce and her husband began to think about joining.

Five weeks before the convention, they did.

"It's interesting that I'm not the only parent of an SWP member joining," she said. "The different kinds of people in the SWP shows how far-reaching the ideas of socialism are becoming in this country."

Gloria Cueva joined the Young Socialist Alliance last march. Then the Socialist Workers party in July.

When Gloria joined the YSA, she was studying anthropology at the University of California in San Diego, where she is active in the Chicano and women's movements.

"When I was in high school I worked for the United Farm Workers for the summer for five dollars a week," Gloria said. She was also active in the high school Chicano student group and helped get some Chicano studies classes going at her school.

Since that time, Gloria has worked as a telephone operator, waitress, and at other jobs.

Why did she join the YSA and SWP?

"Especially important for me," she said, "was their support to the Chicano, Black, and women's movements."

"I am old enough to vote, but don't know whether I am going to vote yet," said **Carrie DiLorenzo**, who worked in the dining hall where convention participants ate their meals.

Carrie said that she considered herself an "independent" politically, but is "biased toward the Democrats."

"I don't want to commit myself to a party before I know what it's about," she said.

That's why she decided to register for the SWP convention toward the end of the gathering. Carrie was "intrigued" by the "poise" of

the socialists she met. "I didn't realize that there was that kind of strength," she said.

Carrie didn't join the YSA or SWP. But she was interested in "getting involved, and I thought this would be an opportunity to get involved."

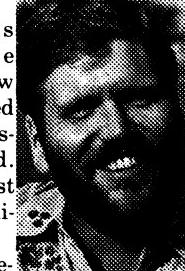
"I think that there are a lot of viewpoints here and I can learn what's going on—what people are thinking about."

Terry Oehler looks like a successful young lawyer. He is.

Raised in a conservative Republican home, Terry went to Harvard on a scholarship, then attended Stanford Law School. He got a job with a big law firm in Phoenix but was restless. He went to Europe.

There he was employed, as a civilian, by the U.S. Army, to defend soldiers at courts-martial.

Most of his clients were Black. "I saw how they were screwed over by the system," he said. That was his first exposure to radicalism.



After Terry returned to the United States, he came to the conclusion that the capitalist economic system wasn't working—that Blacks and other minorities were the victims of racist discrimination. He read about the SWP in a magazine article and sent away for a copy of the *Militant*.

"I found that the SWP's ideas agreed with my own," he said. He joined in March 1976, just before the petitioning drive to put Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid on the Arizona ballot. Terry helped with the complicated legal work Arizona requires to put the socialists on the ballot.

Terry was impressed by the convention. "I'm looking forward to my next one," he said.

Six or seven years ago, **Lu Robbins** was a student at the State University of New York at Binghamton. She worked with the campus YSA chapter and supported the SWP.

But Lu didn't join the SWP until this summer—on the other side of the country, Oakland, California.

It took some years "away from politics," she said, to realize that "it's impossible to deal with the problems people face solely on an individual level."

Lu is impressed by the SWP's honesty. "It's a party that admits its mistakes, but grows from them. You have the feeling that you're not out of step—that you're part of a growing movement."

Why not you?

You've been reading about some of the people that are joining the Socialist Workers party. If you like the ideas you find in the 'Militant,' you should think about joining too.

Fill out the coupon below and mail it today.

I want to join the SWP.
 Send me more information.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____

Telephone _____

SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.



Banner over convention entrance

Militant/Lou Howort

In Review

El Movimiento Chicano

El Movimiento Chicano by Los Alvarados—Manuel, Emilia y Ramon. Infal Records. \$5.00.

This is the month of "el dieciseis de septiembre/September 16"—a day with special significance for Chicanos. It ties us to our past, our roots in Mexico, and to our future as Chicanos.

One of the things that has occurred with the development of the Chicano movement is a cultural reawakening—the realization that we, Chicanos, have a distinct culture, one that we must renew and defend.

One of the first examples of our cultural resurgence is a record made in Denver, Colorado, by Chicano activists—"Los Alvarados." The record, "El Movimiento Chicano," is a tribute to the Chicano movement—for what it has been, for what it is, and for what it will be.

Records

This record manages to capture the essence of Aztlán in song. It gives the listener the spirit of what the Chicano struggle is—people on the move against their oppressors.

The songs, which come from various periods of Mexican and Chicano history, make up an album of beauty.

This record is made for people of all ages. From the young activist to the *viejito*.

Included on this album is "Yo Soy Chicano," the national anthem of Aztlán, which translated means "I Am Chicano." The song describes our history: "I am Chicano, I have color, pure Chicano. . . . When they tell me there is revolution I defend my people with great valor."

Other songs are "The Ballad of Aztlán," a short history of where Chicanos are in the United States. "We are living sons of Zapata," it says, "We are the life and soul of our race. . . . We will struggle and endure for Aztlán, As we protect our native land. . . . This final word comes from all our

people, We declare our native land. . . . And our nation is Aztlán."

"The Road to Guanajuato" is a beautiful song from the revolutionary period. "The value of life in terms of money is worthless, And a worthless life has no value," the words say. "That is why on this earth our lives are of no value."

"Oh Mother!" is a song in which a daughter recounts her experiences as an adult in dealing with the gringo. She says to her mother, "How well I remember those days . . . when you would speak seriously of justice and liberty. . . . Though I try to be strong as our men are I know I'm through with this white man and he will no longer see me cry."

"Luis 'Junior' Martinez" is dedicated to the memory of a Chicano activist murdered by Denver police during a vicious attack on the Crusade for Justice's Escuela Tlatelolco on March 17, 1973.

The song ends, "As we call the spirit of Martinez to continue with us in the Revolution."

One of the most impressive cuts on the album is "Tlatelolco's Graduation Song," done to the tune of the "Marcha Zacatecas." This song in style and word epitomizes what it is to struggle in the Chicano movement.

The long struggle of the farm workers is recognized in "The Ballad of Delano."

All of these songs are done in an indigenous style—the *corrido* style—of telling history through singing. Each succeeds in giving the listener a spirit of pride.

I highly recommend this album to anyone who wishes a short history lesson on Chicanos that is pleasant to listen to.

Unfortunately, you are not likely to be able to get this album at your local record store since distribution is limited. But you can order a copy directly from Escuela Tlatelolco, 1567 Downing Street, Denver, Colorado 80218. The price is \$5.00. All proceeds go to help support the school.

—Alberto Valdivia



Militant/John Gray

Chicago lynch mobs

Blacks discuss how to fight racist attacks



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

March into racist areas? Ban the Klan? March on city hall? Militant Forum hears varying viewpoints.

By Jean Lawrence
and Randi Lawrence

CHICAGO—Housing in Chicago is the most segregated of any major city in this country, according to a U.S. Civil Rights Commission survey in 1975. And attempts to change that situation in 1976 have been big news here.

Efforts by Blacks to push for equality have been met with vicious assaults by racists—from city hall all the way down to white thugs on the street.

The primary issue, as in past years, is the right of Black citizens to use Marquette Park and to live in the predominantly white Chicago Lawn community bordering the park.

Reported attacks on the persons and homes of Black residents number in the eighties this year alone.

Typical is the case of John Newbern, a Black homeowner in Chicago Lawn. He was recently beaten and chased several blocks to his home after he tried to rescue another Black person from racist attackers. Then police arrested him for firing shots into the air to ward off his attackers.

A segregationist housing plan has been proposed by the Southwest Parish and Neighborhood Federation. It is supported by Mayor Richard Daley. The plan calls for tearing down 1,200 homes along the edge of the Black West Englewood community, which borders Chicago Lawn. In their place would be built middle- and high-income high-rises to create a buffer zone between the Black community and Chicago Lawn.

Other incidents

There have been other incidents. Kenneth Mickell was nearly blinded and required surgery after being brutally beaten August 21 while riding his bicycle in Mayor Daley's own Bridgeport neighborhood.

Reports have surfaced of Black steelworkers being stoned and attacked on their way to work while passing through white communities on Chicago's south side.

Black leaders have given a variety of responses to the problem of racist violence and segregation.

The most active organization has been the Martin Luther King, Jr., Movement. It has led several small marches into and near the Marquette Park area. These actions have kept the issue of open housing in the forefront of the news. They have been met by violent mobs of racists, including some Nazi and Ku Klux Klan members.

Organizations such as the NAACP, National Urban League, and Operation PUSH have supported the right to march into Marquette Park but now have suggested moratoriums on such actions. They have proposed instead meetings between leaders of the Black and white communities. Still others have called for banning of racist groups such as the Klan and the Nazis.

Some of these views were heard at a meeting August 28 sponsored by the

Militant Forum. A panel of five Blacks expressed their views on what to do.

Rev. A.I. Dunlap, leader of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Movement, stressed that the marches into Marquette Park must continue. He emphasized the need for the city to uphold the rights of the marchers and criticized the city government for not granting a permit for the last march on August 21. That march of about 200 was stopped by police before it reached Marquette Park.

Dunlap also supported the idea of marching on city hall, suggested by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress in the First Congressional District.

Pulley said that "the city government is responsible for the racist violence" and that attention must be focused on the city for its inaction. He proposed that the Black movement call for federal troops to Chicago Lawn to protect Black people who live there, as troops were summoned in the 60's to protect civil rights demonstrators in the South.

Pulley aimed his fire also at the federal government. "The U.S. government says it flies over Korea to 'protect democracy,' but it has not provided troops to defend the democratic rights of Black citizens at home," he said.

The idea of calling for a ban on the Nazi party was raised during the discussion period. Cecil Lampkin, Chicago coordinator of the Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR), explained that banning such organizations would not end the violence.

He said, "When 5,000 racists, only a few of whom are Nazi party members, turn out to throw rocks at 200 marchers, banning the Nazis is not a serious solution. What is needed is arrest and conviction of every individual who takes part in racist attacks upon Black people."

Pulley added that calling for a ban on groups like the Nazis can also give the city an excuse to turn around and outlaw Black organizations any time they see fit.

Attorney E. Duke McNeil, a longtime Black civil rights spokesperson, blasted Mayor Daley's support to the buffer-zone plan.

Rev. Edward Sparks, a leader of the Concerned Black Fathers, a national organization linking Black ministers and churches, also addressed the meeting.

NAACP

The NAACP is now attempting to organize a broadly supported response to the racist violence. It has initiated discussions with organizations, including the Urban League and PUSH, about projecting a "conference picnic" in Marquette Park.

In a recent statement, Carl Fuqua, executive director of the Chicago branch of the NAACP, said the picnic was to "get a cross section of the community and to bring forth some viable solutions."

S.D. cab drivers win wide strike support

By Mark Taylor and Mike McGraw

SAN DIEGO—Cab drivers here have been forced to go on strike by company attempts to roll back union protection and freeze wages.

The Cab Drivers Union, affiliated with the Seafarers International Union, struck August 26 after San Diego Yellow Cabs, Inc., refused to extend contract coverage beyond the expiration date.

Yellow Cab, owned by the wealthy San Diego Westgate-Hilton Corporation, is demanding an open shop and watered-down grievance procedures. It also insists that nearly 90 percent of a new rate hike go to the company, thus eliminating the possibility of a raise for the 550 union drivers, who work on a commission basis.

The union is seeking to retain present contract terms and win modest improvements in paid holidays, sick leave, and benefits. To help win over the many new drivers hired just before the strike, the union also demands that employees qualify for benefits after six months instead of the current eighteen months.

Cab Drivers Union president Michael Spadacini told the *Militant* that drivers are the lowest-paid service workers in the city, averaging less than four dollars an hour including tips.

To minimize company income and reduce the effect of scabbing, union drivers have started "courtesy cars." These cars cover all major taxi stands, offering free rides and accepting donations to the strike fund. The courtesy drivers help publicize union demands and bring in much-needed income for all striking members.

The drivers union leadership has enlisted the support of other unions as well. Teamster-organized dispatchers and mechanics have walked out in support. The United Farm Workers, Retail Clerks, Meatcutters, and Meatpackers have all sent pickets to the lines.

In a reciprocal show of solidarity, the Cab Drivers Union has pledged to support the UFW-sponsored ballot Proposition 14, which would guarantee secret-ballot union-representation elections for California farm workers. "This union supports the farm workers in everything they do," Spadacini declared.

Yellow Cab convinced well-known antilabor Judge Jack Levitt to limit the number of union pickets—a tactic that has broken several recent strikes in this city. More legal moves against the highly successful courtesy car tactic are expected.

Union spirit remains high, however. "I want to point out that when Yellow Cab forced us into this strike they intended to break the union," Spadacini told the *Militant*. But with Yellow Cab unable to recruit enough scab drivers to run its fleet, the company may yet be forced to the bargaining table.

Cantu convicted of shielding 'aliens'

By David Salner

SAN ANTONIO—Chicano activist Mario Cantú was convicted here September 9 of shielding "illegal aliens."

The jury found Cantú guilty on all three counts of a federal indictment. He faces a maximum of fifteen years in prison. Cantú says he will appeal. He remains free on \$5,000 bond pending sentencing.

Cantu's lawyer, Pete Torres, argued at the trial that the government was prosecuting Cantú because he refused to let Immigration and Naturalization Service cops enter his restaurant until they obtained a warrant.

Government witnesses testified at the trial that Cantú urged several of his employees to leave the restaurant while INS cops were getting the warrant.

Both government and defense witnesses agreed that Cantú did not tell the workers to lie, hide, or disguise themselves. Some workers were arrested for being "illegal aliens" upon leaving the restaurant.

The prosecution never specified what actions by Cantú constituted shielding, adding that the word shielding just meant generally to protect or defend.

Cantu's lawyer argued that to shield meant to hide, and that the charge was unconstitutionally vague. "A person charged should know what the criminal activity he is charged with is," said Torres.

In addition, in pretrial motions Torres argued that Cantú was the victim of politically inspired selective prosecution. The judge refused to even consider evidence regarding this.

The September 10 *San Antonio Express* reported the verdict under a page one headline: "Cantu convicted; wanted in Mexico."

The article reported on a warrant for Cantú's arrest on gun-running charges



MARIO CANTU

picketing a banquet for Echeverría, demanding an end to repression in Mexico.

The persecution of Cantú has drawn an outraged response from the Chicano community and civil libertarians. Some 1,500 people attended an August 29 rally in his defense.

Speakers included Franklin García, international representative of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters; William Kunstler, the noted civil liberties attorney; Tom Keene of the Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case; Clyde Bellecourt and Philip Deere of the American Indian Movement; Ernesto Chacón of the Latin American Civil Rights Project in Milwaukee; Corky Gonzales, leader of the Denver Crusade for Justice; Bishop Patrick Flores of the San Antonio Catholic Archdiocese; and Antonio Orendain, head of the Texas Farm Workers Union.

The rally also received messages from César Chávez, president of the United Farm Workers; Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president; and the Raza Unida party of Wisconsin.

García told the rally, "In the society in which we exist, it is the responsibility of the unions to be in the forefront of all struggles—for Blacks, Chicanos, and women."

Ernesto Chacón stressed that Cantú's case is of national importance. "The same abuses that you have here in San Antonio we have in Milwaukee and throughout the Midwest," he said.

Bishop Flores hit on the historic injustice represented by the charges against Cantú and the whole witch-hunt against undocumented workers. "Who are the real *mojados* [wetbacks]?" Flores asked.

"Those who came across the Rio Grande—or those who came across the Atlantic?"

Congress hears Baraheni rip shah

By Peter Seidman

"Thousands of men and women have been summarily executed during the last twenty-three years. More than 300,000 people have been in and out of prison during the last nineteen years of the existence of SAVAK; an average of 1,500 people are arrested every month."

The noted Iranian dissident poet Reza Baraheni presented these facts and more on the use of repression and torture by SAVAK, the secret-police agency of the shah of Iran, at a September 8 hearing on the violation of human rights in Iran. The hearing was conducted by the Subcommittee on International Organizations of the U.S. Congress.

Baraheni himself has been a victim of the shah's torture chambers. He was arrested in September 1973 and held in the Comité prison for 102 days.

"On the second day of my arrest," Baraheni told the subcommittee, his torture "consisted of seventy-five blows with a plaited wire whip at the soles of my feet. I was whipped on my hands as well, and the head torturer took the small finger of my left hand and broke it, saying that he was going to break my fingers one by one, one each day. Then I was told that, if I didn't confess, my wife and thirteen-year-old daughter would be raped in front of my eyes. All this time I was being beaten from head to toe."

Baraheni linked these barbaric practices to the undemocratic rule of the shah, which has won for his regime bitter opposition from the Iranian masses. "Imagine 100,000 educated men and women in prison while 75 percent of the whole nation is illiterate! Imagine hundreds of doctors in prison when every fifty villages in the country have only one doctor! Imagine roads awaiting construction

while engineers are rotting in jails! The number and extent of my government's crimes against its people have no end."

Baraheni testified that there have been threats against his life since he began speaking out in the United States in defense of Iranian political prisoners. He protested the failure of the U.S. government to take action to defend his rights after reports that special SAVAK assassination squads have been dispatched to the United States to eliminate opponents of the shah's regime.

Baraheni quoted remarks by former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark protesting the threatened use of squads of SAVAK thugs from Iran:

"A single death threat cannot be tolerated for the desire of profit from fifty billion dollars in trade."

Iranian arts festival boycott

"Art, politics and torture chambers," a major article by Victor Navasky in the August 15 *New York Times Magazine*, reported on a boycott of the Shiraz art festival in Iran. "Eric Bentley, playwright and critic, calls on his colleagues in theater and music to boycott next week's prestigious Shiraz festival as a protest against repression in Iran," Navasky wrote.

Response to the call to boycott the festival, a public relations extravaganza sponsored by the shah, was prompt and favorable. Among several internationally recognized cultural figures who turned down their invitations were American dancer Merce Cunningham

and his entire dance company; British director Peter Brook; American director Robert Wilson; and Polish experimental theater director Jerzy Grotowski.

Several prominent figures in Britain, where the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has been publicizing the boycott, also endorsed the campaign. Among them are Albert Hunt, John Berger, Trevor Griffiths, and Margaretta D'Arcy.

Bentley made the initial appeal for the boycott February 26 at a forum sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). CAIFI has been on a major campaign to publicize the boycott.

Education campaign needed

Socialists hit U.S. role in southern Africa

[The following statement was released September 14 by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers party.]

Growing protests by South African students and working people against the racist apartheid regime have fueled worldwide revulsion with the white minority regimes throughout southern Africa.

In the wake of these struggles—and following Washington's setback in Angola—Ford and Kissinger are now claiming they have a "new" Africa policy.

Washington says it is seeking a gradual shift to Black majority rule in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia (South-West Africa), and South Africa itself. In reality, this is just rhetoric.

Kissinger is seeking to buy time in hopes of finding a way to defeat or divert the revolutionary thrust of the Black liberation struggle in Africa. His sole concern is to protect imperialist interests in that part of the world.

In the coming showdown between the African masses and the racist



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky
WILLIE MAE REID

minority governments, the U.S. government will no more side with the struggle for Black rights than it does in Boston.

Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter offers no alternative to this Ford-Kissinger policy. Both the Democrats and Republicans are trying to make the U.S. rescue operation in southern Africa a *non-issue* in this campaign.

But for working people, opposition to U.S. support for the racist regimes in Africa is a *central issue*.

We cannot successfully struggle against racist policies here at home without actively opposing those same policies overseas.

We cannot successfully defend our own jobs and living standard from attacks by U.S. corporations without supporting struggles by our African brothers and sisters against starvation wages paid by overseas branches of these same companies.

Kissinger is trying to persuade Americans—particularly Afro-Americans—that Washington has developed a more humane Africa policy. He is seeking to win support among such organizations as the NAACP, Operation PUSH, and the Urban League.

We urge our supporters to help launch an educational effort to expose this cynical maneuver, which aims to

undercut domestic opposition to Washington's racist policies. Panels, forums, picket lines, and teach-ins are crucial steps toward mobilizing a broad and united movement against U.S. policy in southern Africa.

We should reach out to Black student organizations, NAACP branches, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, chapters of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, church groups, and other campus, community, and labor organizations to get such an educational effort under way.

The American people should demand:

"No U.S. political, economic, and military support to South Africa!"

"No U.S. trade with South Africa!"

"Free all South African political prisoners!"

We should demand that U.S. corporations open their books to reveal the full extent of their secret investments in southern Africa.

And we should demonstrate for these demands not only at outposts of the apartheid regime in this country, but at U.S. government office buildings as well. Because it is Washington that remains the major prop upholding white minority rule today.

Kissinger trip to boost apartheid regime

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

When Secretary of State Kissinger emerged on September 6 from three days of talks in Zurich with South African Prime Minister John Vorster, he refused to disclose any details of their discussions on the mounting social conflicts in southern Africa. He simply stated that the negotiations had been "fruitful." Vorster characterized them as "successful."

When a key representative of American imperialism and the head of the racist apartheid regime hold secret talks—and are pleased with the results—it should be a clear warning to all supporters of the African freedom struggle. Pretoria and Washington, which have maintained an alliance for many years, are now coordinating their efforts more closely than before to save white supremacy in South Africa.

Although Kissinger indicated before the talks that the main items on the agenda would be Namibia and Zimbabwe, the major concern of American imperialism, which now underlies all its policies toward southern Africa, is

the massive ferment in South Africa itself. Washington has an important stake in the preservation of the apartheid regime.

U.S. corporations have more than \$1.5 billion invested in South Africa and realize a profit rate there among the highest in the world. South Africa, moreover, produces about 60 percent of the capitalist world's gold supply and occupies a strategic position overlooking the vital shipping route around the Cape of Good Hope. The apartheid regime also serves as a bastion of imperialist rule on the African continent.

A few days before leaving for Zurich, Kissinger declared that there had been a "major breakthrough" in Namibia. He was referring to an August 18 statement by South African officials and Namibian tribal chiefs announcing plans for a "multiracial" government leading to formal independence by the end of 1978. Pretoria has made it clear, however, that it will do everything it can to safeguard the privileged position of the white settlers and maintain the significant imperial-

ist economic holdings in the mineral-rich territory.

The Vorster regime has so far excluded the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), the main Namibian nationalist group, from the "constitutional" talks being held in Namibia. Because of that, Washington fears that the South African scheme may fail. While terming the announcement a "step in the right direction," the State Department has counseled Pretoria to try to win SWAPO's cooperation in this neocolonial maneuver.

Vorster, at a September 5 news conference in Zurich, took a step in that direction, referring to SWAPO for the first time as "one of the political parties in South-West Africa [Namibia]."

In Zimbabwe, the imperialists are seeking to end the escalating guerrilla warfare and head off a major uprising by imposing a negotiated settlement on the Zimbabwean masses. Their aim is to establish a Black government—after a "transitional" period of a few years—that would be willing to protect

imperialist interests and collaborate with the apartheid regime.

In order to win the cooperation of the Rhodesian white settlers, Washington, London, and Pretoria have outlined a program to guarantee white "minority rights" and to financially underwrite some of the economic losses the settlers may face.

Kissinger, through his "shuttle diplomacy," hopes to enlist greater collaboration in these efforts from the Black neocolonial regimes bordering Zimbabwe and Namibia. These regimes have already shown their willingness to press the Zimbabwean and Namibian nationalist organizations to compromise.

When it was announced September 10 that Kissinger also planned to visit South Africa itself, South African officials reacted with delight. According to a *New York Times* dispatch from Johannesburg the same day, they "believe the visit may strengthen their country's deteriorating international position even if it does not lead to settlements of the conflicts in Rhodesia and South-West Africa."

...white regime steps up repression in S. Africa

Continued from back page

shattered the illusions held by whites that the Coloureds would not unify with Africans. "The most astounding thing for us here," the columnist told Kaufman, "has been to watch colored and black youths standing together, saying exactly the same thing."

A young Coloured woman told the *Times* correspondent, "A few years ago, I think, most coloreds wanted very much to be like whites. Our people had small advantages over the blacks and we were easily led into rejecting our black patrimony."

Now there is a mood of solidarity with Africans. The woman said, "We know we are all the victims of a system that must change and that is our only demand, an immediate end to inequality."

Kaufman described the political ideas of Coloured students he interviewed:

Some of the students talked of a continuing wave of protests. Some thought that labor action such as strikes, which are illegal in this country, might develop. None talked openly of armed struggle. A few called themselves socialists but in a style they drew much more from the United States civil rights movement than from any African liberation struggle.

When asked which revolutionary figures they most admired, most mentioned Malcolm X and Martin Luther King. None mentioned Samora Machel or Kwame Nkrumah. Quite a few noted the influence of Adam Small, a mild-mannered colored poet . . . whose works in Afrikaans and English speak to the students of finding their African roots. A few of the students are beginning to wear Afro haircuts.

On September 10, Marais Viljoen, president of the South African Senate, announced a series of concessions at a meeting of the Coloured Representative Council* in Cape Town. The

concessions would allow Coloureds and Asians to set up businesses outside Coloured areas and to serve as trade-union officials. In addition, Coloureds would no longer be required to use separate bathrooms and waiting rooms in public buildings.

A Reuters dispatch from Cape Town reported, "Sources in the colored community called the measures a step in the right direction, but said that they fell far short of demands for full civil rights."

The apartheid regime will never give the 2.3 million Coloureds or the 18

*The Coloured Representative Council is a largely powerless body composed of elected and government-appointed delegates. It supposedly has the power to govern the Coloured community. In reality the council's decisions can be, and usually are, overridden by the white minister of Coloured affairs.

million Africans full civil rights. This would be the end of the cheap, highly disciplined nonwhite labor that has created big profits for the apartheid imperialists and their friends in countries like Britain, West Germany, the United States, and Japan.

Civil rights for Blacks and Coloureds would open the way for the masses to launch an even more massive struggle against national oppression and economic exploitation.

The regime also made clear its intentions through continuing arrests of African, Coloured, and Indian activists. The London *Times* reported September 9 that more than 260 persons are now in custody under a special preventive-detention law, and that 600 are believed to be in custody on specific charges stemming from the protests. Other reports put the number arrested since the Soweto rebellion in June at several thousand.

Payoff for Shanker's strategy

NYC schools open minus 5,000 teachers

By Lou Howort
and Judy Kleinberg

NEW YORK—Students returned to school in this city September 13 with 5,000 fewer teachers in the classrooms than there were last June.

In August, 3,700 teachers received their pink slips. More than 1,000 additional jobs have been eliminated through attrition during the summer. That's on top of 10,000 teaching positions wiped out over the 1975-1976 school year.

The most recent job losses are the result of a court ruling invalidating the Stavisky-Goodman Law, which mandated the city government to spend a bigger share of its budget on education.

The new layoffs guarantee further deterioration of education and working conditions in the New York public schools.

In effect, we teachers have been working without a contract for the past year. The Emergency Financial Control Board never approved the contract

Judy Kleinberg is a special education teacher at P.S. 192 in Brooklyn. Lou Howort is a health teacher at Grady High School in Brooklyn. Both are members of the United Federation of Teachers.

accepted by the United Federation of Teachers at the end of a five-day strike last September. The EFCB is the banker-dominated body with dictatorial power over city finances.

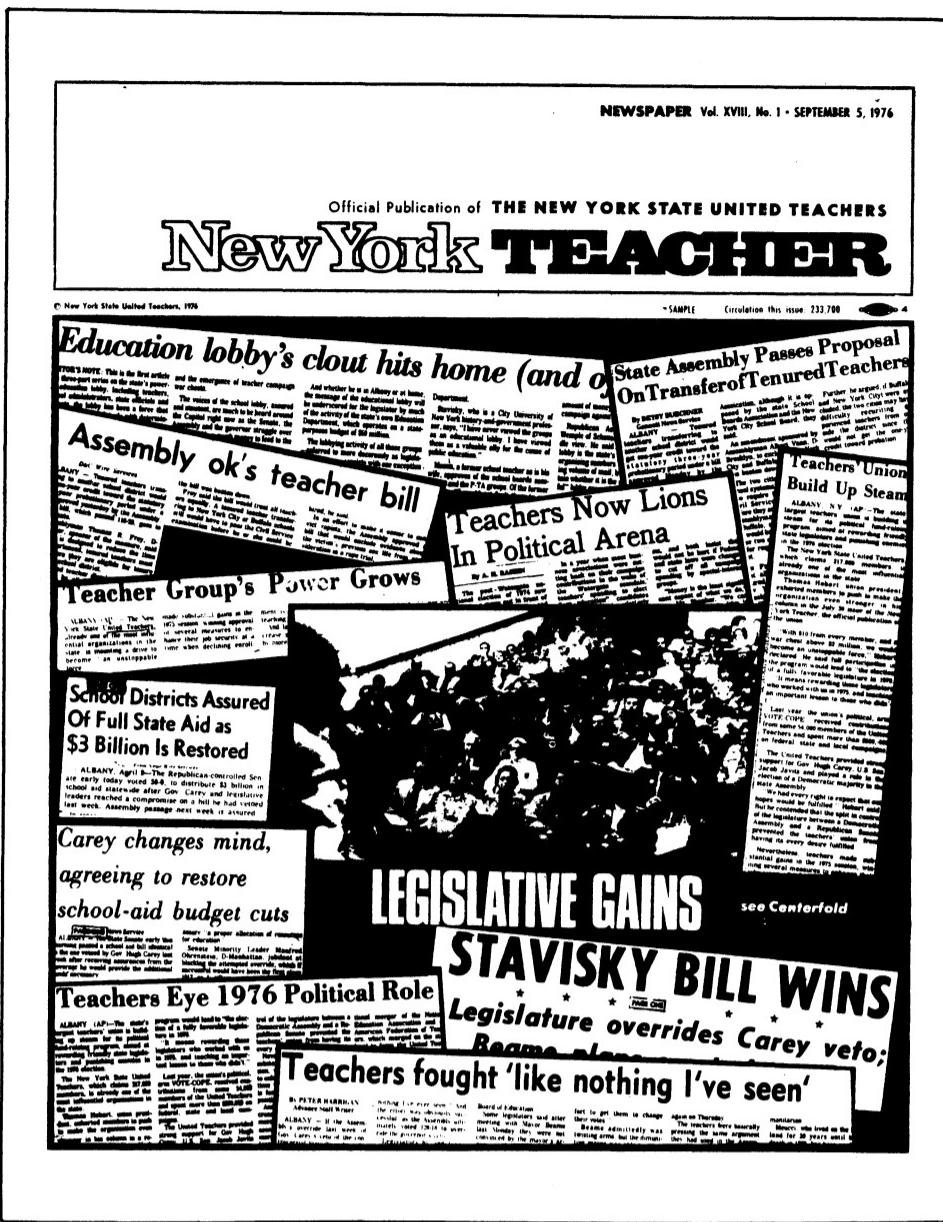
Gross violations of the negotiated contract occurred last school year. Thousands of teachers filed grievances protesting oversized classes. School administrations unilaterally canceled sabbatical leaves. Meager cost-of-living and longevity raises have not been paid.

In the face of these attacks on our union, Albert Shanker, president of the UFT, has followed a strategy of relying on the Democratic and Republican party politicians to stop the cutbacks.

Last spring he used the resources of the UFT to push for the passage of the Stavisky-Goodman bill, which he said was the union's answer to cutbacks.

This bill, touted as an anticutback measure, provided not one cent of additional funding for education or any other social service.

Instead, it said that the percentage of the city's budget going for education should remain the same as in past years. Since the money available for all social services has been drastically



Front page of 'New York Teacher' boasts of Stavisky-Goodman bill 'victory.' UFT leadership has learned nothing from defeats of past year.

cut back, implementation of this measure would have meant cutbacks in other social services.

This strategy—which accepts the budget cuts as inevitable—is simply collaborating with the capitalist politicians in carrying out the cuts.

Shanker's answer to the cuts is not to demand that they stop, but to ask the city to lay off someone else. This strategy pits teachers against other municipal workers and is an obstacle to a united struggle against all cutbacks and layoffs.

Our union leaders still hail the Stavisky-Goodman bill as a "singular triumph," as "spectacular" and "historic." But these words are meaningless to the thousands of teachers who no longer have a job.

The UFT leadership has learned nothing from the past year's disaster. Teachers can expect more of the same.

The UFT leadership recently endorsed dozens of Democratic and Republican candidates, and vowed to mobilize the UFT membership to support them.

Shanker, as president of the American Federation of Teachers, pushed through an endorsement of Jimmy Carter at the AFT's convention last month.

Shanker's great hope now lies with a Democratic president, despite the fact that it has been a Democratic mayor and a Democratic governor who have implemented the devastating cuts—with a little help from the Democratic "veto proof" Congress.

As a result of Shanker's strategy, our union has been seriously weakened. We are now being presented with the choice of giving up salary increases to avert more layoffs—or taking the meager pay increases with the ensuing loss of jobs.

This choice falsely places the responsibility for the layoffs on teachers. In the interest of teacher solidarity, many would prefer to give up their salary increase to save a colleague's job. There is, however, absolutely no guarantee that teachers whose jobs are saved through such a scheme won't be laid off in the future.

The Emergency Financial Control Board, which is trying to force this choice on teachers, has already used this strategy against workers at city hospitals.

Last month, Victor Gotbaum sold striking hospital workers such a deal. The workers gave up cost-of-living increases for a promise of no more layoffs—for four months. Gotbaum is head of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the biggest union of city workers. Gotbaum's acceptance of the deal places additional pressure on teachers to accept a similar one.

Shanker, Gotbaum, and other municipal labor misleaders accept the politicians' claim that there is "no money" for both jobs and salary increases.

This is a lie.

The money is there—in the interest payments to the banks, the tax breaks for corporations, and the \$100 billion-plus Pentagon budget.

What is not there are officeholders willing to spend it on social services instead of giveaways to the rich.

And Shanker thinks this is just fine. In fact, he calls for handing over even more of our tax dollars to the Pentagon.

Once Shanker accepts those priorities—the priorities of the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties—it's no wonder he accepts school cutbacks as inevitable.

It's clear that we need a new strategy to prevent the UFT from being decimated. Our union should stop campaigning and spending money for capitalist candidates.

Instead, we teachers should turn to our real allies in the struggle against the cutbacks—parents, the Black and Puerto Rican communities, and the other municipal unions. We need to forge an alliance with these forces that could organize an effective movement against all cutbacks and layoffs.

... teachers strike against cuts

Continued from back page

However, the federation opposes the association's demand for an agency shop, and has threatened to pull out of the strike unless this demand is dropped.

—Bob Rowand

Philadelphia

Pennsylvania was the state hardest hit by teacher strikes as schools opened here during the second week of September. More than 172,000 students and 7,500 teachers were involved in twenty-five different strikes immediately after Labor Day.

The biggest of these was the strike by 1,200 lay teachers in the high schools of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Philadelphia, which covers a five-county area.

The main issues in the strike are class size and a demand that lay teachers have an equal voice in the

schools with teachers who are members of religious orders. Strikers are also demanding a wage increase.

Since the 1960s, the number of lay teachers at Catholic high schools has been increasing.

In 1967, lay teachers at the archdiocese's schools were forced to wage a brief strike for recognition of their union, the Association of Catholic Teachers. The union is affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers.

The current strike by the association has effectively shut down the Catholic high schools.

Meanwhile, a strike by the 22,000-member Philadelphia Federation of Teachers was averted September 8 when agreement was reached on a two-year contract.

Wage increases over the life of the pact total 14.5 percent.

The union also rebuffed board of education demands that elementary school teachers give up preparation

periods. This was won only in the last contract, and had it been lost, hundreds of teachers would have been laid off.

School officials claim a \$66 million budget deficit will be increased to \$78 million by the cost of the settlement.

—Derrick Morrison

Jersey City

Some 2,000 striking teachers returned to work here September 14 after ratifying a contract that teachers consider a victory for their union, the Jersey City Education Association.

Terms of the contract specify a 5 percent raise in wages and 1 percent increase in fringe benefits in each year of the two-year agreement.

In addition, attempts by school officials to impose retrogressive changes in work loads and conditions were rebuffed. A 1,200-to-400 majority

approved the settlement.

Although the monetary gains were modest, the contract is regarded as particularly significant because it broke through Democratic Mayor Paul Jordan's two-year campaign of cutbacks and wage freezes.

The strike began September 8 after the school board refused to grant any raises and decreed an increased work load for teachers.

In a number of ways, conduct of the strike was exemplary. The union held daily mass meetings open to the public. There were daily reports on negotiations, and decisions on what to do were by majority vote.

Teachers acted jointly with secretarial and custodial workers, which strengthened the picket lines. Secretaries are in the same union as the teachers. Custodial workers belong to American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2622.

—John Staggs

...Mao

Continued from page 14

In the year before his death, there were mounting indications that masses of the Chinese people were dissatisfied with the chairman's rule and anxious to assert their own voice in the government of China. The strikes in Hangchow in the summer of 1975, reports of resistance among the millions of city youth arbitrarily sent to the countryside, and finally the massive protest demonstration of 100,000 in Peking's Tien An Men Square in April are the best-known examples. These are the first signs of the coming political revolution in China, when the workers, peasants, and revolutionary intellectuals will unseat Mao's bureaucratic heirs and take the reins of power into their own hands.

...PRDF

Continued from page 6

accepted his assurances as good coin. The SWP knew better.

With the socialists' contempt of court charge hanging over his head, Kelley was forced last May to direct all FBI field offices to produce all their documents on burglaries.

The SWP specified that the search must include the top-secret "do not file" files and "personal folders" of FBI agents—files the congressional committees had carefully neglected to ask for.

The resulting evidence of burglaries as recent as last year has the FBI on the run. Federal grand juries in New York and Washington have begun inquiries. Hundreds of agents and officials are reported to be implicated.

Authorization for break-ins is being traced all the way back to the administration of Franklin Roosevelt.

The biggest bombshell yet exploded this summer when FBI informer Timothy Redfearn admitted burglarizing the Denver SWP headquarters on July 7. Documents Redfearn stole turned up in FBI files obtained by the SWP under court order. Kelley is directly implicated in covering up the incident.

The Redfearn case is leading to unprecedented revelations on the government's use of informers and provocateurs.

The SWP and YSA suit has already had a profound impact on American politics. It has forced political concessions from the government—from abolition of the attorney general's list to ending the "investigation" of the SWP.

As Leonard Boudin predicted when the suit was launched, it has inspired many others to fight government spying and harassment.

It has provided further grounds for

suspecting government involvement in the murders of Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, and other Black leaders.

It has exposed links between the federal government, local police "red squads," and right-wing terrorist gangs.

Thousands of prominent Americans—political figures; Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican leaders; feminists; unionists; and civil libertarians—have lent their endorsement to the suit, helping to make these accomplishments possible.

Government attempts to smear the SWP as terrorists have been discredited. The real international terrorists—the rulers' police agencies—have been further unmasked.

As a result of this suit, *socialists* are more and more associated in the public mind with freedom and democratic rights, while the *capitalist government* is seen as the threat to those rights.

The ramifications of that shift in popular consciousness will be felt for many years to come.

...abortion

Continued from page 15

Even though the anti-abortionists haven't picked up public support for a constitutional amendment guaranteeing legal rights to fetuses, Carter and Ford have given them reason for cheer. Ford's support for a "states' rights" amendment and Carter's open door to considering some kind of amendment help to legitimize their goal.

More immediately, President Ford or President Carter would seek to cut off all Medicaid funds to abortions. This would coerce thousands of working-women—many of them Black, Puerto Rican, or Chicana—to return to back-alley abortionists or bear unwanted children.

This would be a colossal blow to women's rights. Unless every woman has the right to abortion, no woman's right to abortion is secure.

Whatever form they take, attacks on abortion will persist. Along with the organized right-wing forces, the wealthy rulers of this country have not accepted abortion as a right. For them, the Supreme Court ruling was a tactical concession to a women's liberation movement that was growing to represent majority sentiment.

But the capitalist system of profit and physical and social coercion is built on the oppression of women. Denying women the right to control our own bodies is fundamental to this oppression. So the battle will continue.

We will not find a bulwark against assaults on women's rights in the Democratic or Republican party, as we've seen from the Carter-Ford performances. We must rely on ourselves to defend the rights we've won.

The right-wing mobilizations against women's rights must not go unanswered. We must prepare our side—the majority—to countermobilize against these forces.

Right now, feminists, unionists, Blacks, students, and all other supporters of women's rights need to confront Democratic and Republican candidates across the country. We demand that they take a clear stand on abortion as every woman's right to choose.

...FBI

Continued from page 5

rights of all Americans.

"We will continue this fight until the FBI and other secret-police outfits give up their claim that they have the right to carry out political operations, which they falsely call 'investigations,' of any group or individual, regardless of any fake 'guidelines' the attorney general dreams up to try to justify and excuse these activities."

Barnes said that "the scuttlebutt in Washington is that the administration fervently hoped they could bring us the Levi order, throw in an offer of a big cash settlement on our damage claims, and we would settle the case and forget about those eight million FBI files, as well as the files in the vaults of the CIA, the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division, and all the rest.

"To put it simply, they thought we would grab the millions and run. They are so used to buying princes, kings, and political parties, from the Christian Democrats in Italy to the Liberal Democrats in Japan—not to mention the Democrats and Republicans, who come cheap—that they can't conceive of an organization that doesn't have a price.

"Well, they have finally found one."

Calendar

BERKELEY

GRAND OPENING OF SWP HEADQUARTERS. Speakers: Willie Mae Reid, SWP candidate for vice-president; Paul Bouteille, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 8th C.D.; Frobén Lozada, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 9th C.D.; UFW representative to speak on Prop. 14; Laurel Edenbeger, East Bay NOW treasurer. California petitioning film and party afterwards. Fri., Sept. 24, 8 p.m., rally with reception preceding. 3264 Adeline, Berkeley (near Alcatraz). Ausp: Oakland and Berkeley SWP campaigns. For more information call (415) 653-7156.

CINCINNATI

SOCIALISTS ANSWER THE 'GREAT DEBATE.' Watch the "Great Debate" with Socialist Workers campaigners and discuss with Melissa Singler, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Thurs., Sept. 23. Check TV listing for time. 2598 Madison Rd. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (513) 321-7445.

LOS ANGELES

ANNUAL SHISH KEBAB. Meet Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from California. Sun., Oct. 3. 2 p.m., refreshments; 4 to 6 p.m., dinner. 1321 Palms Blvd., Venice. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1976 California Campaign Committee. For more information call (203) 735-4235.

PITTSBURGH

BLACK REVOLT IN SOUTH AFRICA. Speakers: Emmanuel Anise, South African studies, Univ. of Pittsburgh; Charles Kindle, chairperson, African and Foreign Affairs Committee, Pittsburgh NAACP; others. Fri., Sept. 24, 8 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

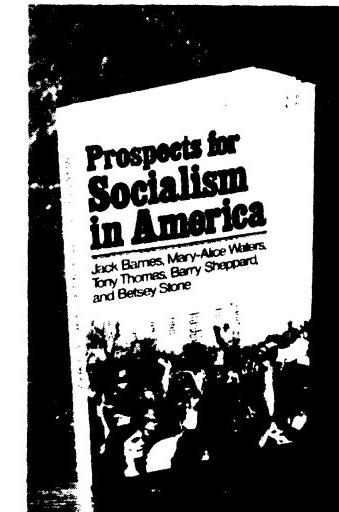
SEATTLE

SWP NOMINATING CONVENTION. Everyone is invited to come in anytime between 7 a.m. and 8 p.m. Tues., Sept. 21, to sign the petition to put SWP candidates on the Washington ballot. 5623 University Way NE. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

SWP CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speaker: Pat Bethard, SWP candidate for governor. Tues., Sept. 21, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way NE. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Washington Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

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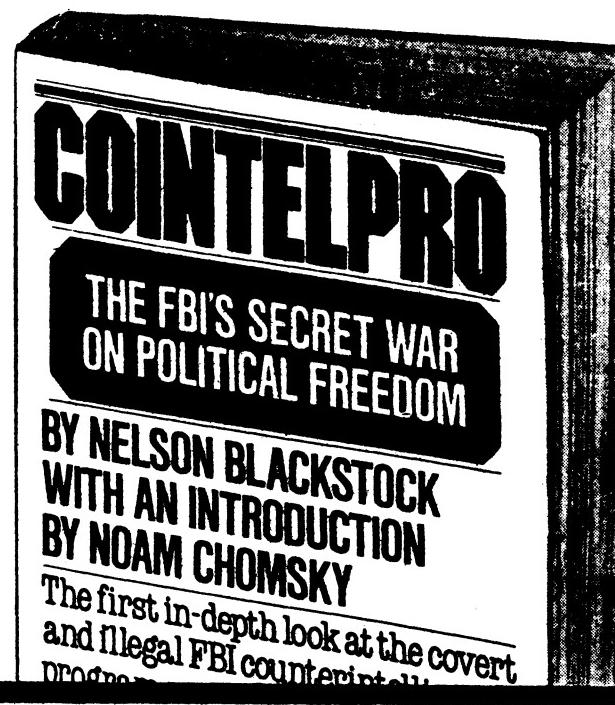
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Your help is needed to build the SWP campaign and rallies. See the Socialist Directory on page 31 for the campaign headquarters nearest you.

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DENVER—Friday, September 24, 7 p.m., 1379 Kalamath

SALT LAKE CITY—Saturday, September 25, 8 p.m., Horace Mann School, 233 W. Second N

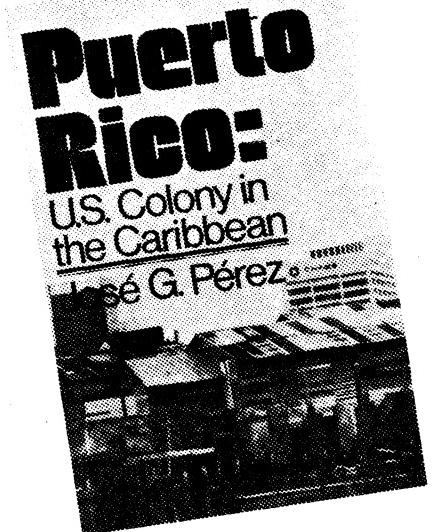
WILLIE MAE REID will speak in:

SAN FERNANDO VALLEY, Calif.—Tuesday, September 21, 7:30 p.m., Senior Citizens Center at Pacoima Park, 10953 Herrick, Pacoima

BERKELEY, Calif.—Friday, September 24, 8 p.m., 3264 Adeline

SAN FRANCISCO—Saturday, September 25, 8 p.m., YMCA, 1530 Buchanan Street

MIAMI—Monday, September 27, 8 p.m., Center for Dialogue, Twenty-second Ave. NW & Twenty-sixth Street



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BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

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THE MILITANT

SOUTH AFRICA

White regime steps up repression

By Tony Thomas

From Intercontinental Press

Demonstrations by Coloureds (people of mixed African, Asian, and European descent) spread across South Africa's Cape Province in early September, meeting massive repression. Hundreds of protesters have been arrested, and on September 9 and 10 alone, riot police shot down twenty-four persons.

On September 7, police in Cape Town attacked thousands of Coloured

Sixteen youths were killed in Manenberg, a section of Athlone, a Coloured township less than ten miles from Cape Town. According to a report by John Burns in the September 10 *New York Times*, all were victims of police rifle and pistol fire. The cops claimed that the youths were looting stores that had been burned earlier by Coloured protesters.

In Paarl, a city thirty miles from Cape Town, hundreds of youths stoned shops and cars, according to Burns. One youth was reported killed.

Deaths were also reported in Eijserville, a township on the eastern outskirts of Cape Town, and in Grassy Park, a township to the south of the city. At Kimberly the police clashed with a crowd of about 700 Black students.

On September 10, the police arrested hundreds of Coloured students at Port Elizabeth, a city 420 miles east of Cape Town, breaking up peaceful sit-ins on the rugby fields at St. Thomas and Paterson high schools.

The Port Elizabeth police reported 350 persons had been arrested. Coloured witnesses put the number at 550.

The upsurge shocked the South African regime, which has sought to divide the Coloureds from Africans and Indians.

"You have to understand that in the framework of separate development [i.e., apartheid], the coloreds have traditionally been the most favored," a white South African columnist told *New York Times* correspondent Michael Kaufman.

The recent demonstrations have *Continued on page 28*

Socialist candidates call for educational campaign on U.S. role in Africa. See page 28.

demonstrators in the downtown area, killing at least four persons and injuring many others.

On September 8, police opened fire with shotguns after using tear gas and clubs to disperse groups of demonstrators in Coloured townships near Cape Town.

In downtown Cape Town, cops fired on demonstrators who were protesting the regime's decision to close down Coloured high schools in the Cape area.

Riot police also attacked a crowd of 500 students at the Coloured University of the Western Cape.

Black demonstrations took place at Stellenbosch, a city twenty miles east of Cape Town. Police sealed off the Coloured townships of Ida's Valley and Cloetesville, after alleged stoning incidents on the night of September 7.

On September 8, Blacks in Kimberly, the center of South Africa's diamond industry, joined the protests.

'U.S. Interests Out!'



Militant/Lou Howorth

NEW YORK—Nearly 300 New Yorkers demonstrated Saturday, September 11, in support of the freedom struggle in southern Africa. They gathered in Harlem and marched to a picket line and rally outside the offices of South African Airways in midtown Manhattan.

The protest was initiated by Blacks in Solidarity with South African Liberation, a coalition in which the Pan African Students Organization of the Americas played a leading role.

Members of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance, including Keith Jones, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from the Seventh District in Queens, participated in the demonstration, carrying a large banner reading: "End Racism in Boston and South Africa! U.S. Interests Out!"

TEACHERS STRIKE AGAINST CUTS

Schools reopened across the country over the past two weeks with another wave of teacher strikes. These strikes have been provoked by government attempts to cut back education, lay off teachers, take away gains made in previous contracts, and freeze wages.

A survey by the National Education Association showed that as of September 6, 2,200 contracts were not settled and twenty-four strikes were already in progress.

Following are stories by Militant correspondents on four of the larger strikes.

Buffalo

The strike by 3,500 teachers led by the Buffalo Teachers Federation entered its second week here September 14 with no settlement in sight.

The stage for the strike was set by a 5 percent slash in the school budget announced over the summer and a

board of education demand that teachers' wages be frozen.

School officials are also demanding a "management rights" clause that would allow them to increase class sizes, lay off teachers, and close down schools.

Officials of the Buffalo Teachers Federation say the strike is very effective, with up to 95 percent of the teachers out.

School officials have tried to give a "business as usual" impression by having students come into school each morning. But there is no one to teach them, and they are sent home as soon as roll call is taken.

Teachers picketing the schools are in high spirits. They say they'd rather be in a classroom than on a picket line, but the board of education had pushed them up against the wall.

An interesting political element has been injected into the strike. When \$5 million was cut from the \$99 million school budget last summer, city officials said this was due to a shortage of money.

However, the union has discovered that the money remains in the city budget after all—and city officials acknowledge they want to use it to increase the rate of debt payments to the banks.

The union says the money should be used to rehire the 325 school employees laid off over the summer and to give teachers an 8 percent raise.

—Ed Powell

Seattle

School Supt. Dave Moberly closed schools here September 13. This action, on the third day of classes, testifies to the strength of the first teachers' strike in Seattle's history.

It also acknowledges that officials have been unable to keep schools open by hiring substitute teachers as strike-breakers.

The Seattle Teachers Association strike was provoked by two years of layoffs and cutbacks in education. Teachers are demanding rehiring of all 715 teachers laid off last June, the

restoration of physical education and music classes in elementary schools, and a 20.6 percent salary increase.

Another demand of the strike is that dual seniority lists be established, so that the proportion of minority teachers in the school system not be reduced in case of layoffs. The STA is also demanding an agency shop.

Last year, teachers gave up scheduled pay increases to provide funds to rehire some 1,200 of 1,600 teachers who had been laid off. The school district had promised to provide catch-up and cost-of-living raises this year to compensate for the teachers' sacrifices last year.

But now, the school administration is backtracking, offering only 16 percent instead of the necessary 20.6 percent. In addition, the administration is proposing to rehire only 526 of the 715 teachers laid off last spring.

The Seattle Federation of Teachers, which represents a small minority of teachers, supports the main demands of the STA and has joined the strike.

Continued on page 29